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EDUCATION IN UTOPIAS

BY

GILDO MASSÓ, PH.D.

TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
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FOREWORD

The study that follows has four purposes:—(1) to show the place of education in utopias; (2) to present the educational views of the authors of utopias; (3) to discuss the utopian educational agencies; and (4) to determine to what extent there is any realization of utopian theories in present-day practices or any promise of such realization in the future.

This study, besides considering the ideal schemes from Plato to Wells, discusses the proposals of such Utopian Socialists as Owen, Saint-Simon, and Fourier.

Education is considered throughout the following pages both in its formal and its informal aspects. Consequently, not only the school, but the home, the church, work, and the community are here discussed as agencies of education. Emphasis is placed on the fact that, according to the utopians, the school has only a part, and not always the decisive part, in molding the character of the individual and of the race.

The writer is indebted for his introduction to the subject and for assistance and encouragement to Professor I. L. Kandel, of Teachers College, Columbia University. His thanks are also due to Professors W. H. Kilpatrick, E. H. Reisner, and W. F. Russell, and to his friend Mr. José Padín for helpful criticism and suggestions while this work was in preparation.

G. M.

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EDUCATION IN UTOPIAS

CHAPTER I

ON UTOPIAS

Mankind in its onward movement has at times passed through epochs of acute strife and chaos, and at the same time, of transition and reconstruction. Voices of disillusion and despair have been heard in the tumult of the hour, and also the voices of the prophet and the reformer. Such times were witnessed in Greece during the period immediately following the Age of Pericles, in Europe before and during the Renaissance and the Reformation, and in the whole world throughout the nineteenth century. In such a time we are now living as actors and spectators; for, indeed, society is at present faced with problems of magnitude unparalleled in the history of the world.

Dissatisfaction with the existing order of things has led a numerous and eminent group of thinkers, from Plato to Wells, to the making of utopias. These leaders of social thought have bequeathed to posterity glowing descriptions of ideal commonwealths where order, justice, and happiness prevail in all the relationships of life as the result of what they deem to be equitable institutions and right principles of social progress. From the utopian accounts of eugenics and education, of work and property, and of private and public life we judge that the Millennium is perpetual in Utopia. The fact that these imaginative romances deal with such problems accounts for their unfailing vitality; for we are still far from having discovered the final solution to any of the great problems which our civilization inherited from the past and with which the utopian authors so valiantly grappled.

Several features are common to most utopias. Sharp and fearless criticisms of our world, ideal systems of government, wholesome material and spiritual environment, extended powers of the community, plans for the regeneration of the race, thoroughgoing schemes of education, and faith in the power of mankind to work out its own salvation,—all these abound in the world of utopias.

Individually the utopians were affected in the construction of their schemes by the epoch in which they labored. Plato, building his *Republic* in a period of social disintegration, was eager to stem the tide of individualism and to make the State supreme. More and Bacon were more satisfied with the promise of the times, the former, as shown by his *Utopia,* pinning his hope for social improvement to the revival of classical learning, and the latter to the development of science, following the example of the *New Atlantis.* Coming to the utopians of modern times we find further examples. Most of the utopian authors of our time have been influenced by two mighty forces of the modern world, the Industrial Revolution and the Theory of Evolution. On the one side they have seen the material world visibly changing as the effect of a rapid succession of great inventions, and on the other they have felt the hope that the normal evolutionary process will bring mankind nearer the reign of happiness. Hence their utopias are based on proved possibilities and purport to depict future stages in the march of civilization. With superb courage and entrancing eloquence we see them offering what they believe practicable solutions to the complexities of the present. Bellamy's *Looking Backward* attempts to solve the vexing problem of the organization of capital and labor and Hertzka shows in his *Freeland* the possibility of extending material welfare to the masses. But the palm for a masterful combination of a wholesome respect for the hard facts of the present and an unflinching faith of a better future must be awarded to H. G. Wells. In his *Modern Utopia* human and physical nature are accepted as they are with potentialities for both good and evil; social classes still exist, but no one is born to membership in any, social status depending on personal merit; government has not disappeared, but it is now a world government; and machinery is conspicuous but it serves its purposes uniformly for the good of all and never becomes an instrument of torture.

What was the purpose of the authors of utopias in drawing up their schemes? Were they in earnest, or merely jesting and satirizing the world of their day? Generalization is here unwarranted. Of the pioneers of utopianism, Plato and More give vent to their skepticism in the realization of their ideal commonwealths.[1] Their successors have, as a rule, been more optimistic

[1] *The Republic,* Books V and IX, pp. 170 f. and 306; *Utopia,* pp. 83 and 167.

in their hopes for improvement. Andreæ believed in the practicability of his idea,[2] a belief corroborated by his endeavors as an educator. Harrington was undoubtedly moved to writing his *Oceana* by the idea of proposing a model constitution for England in one of the most critical periods in the history of his country.[3] Bellamy tells us that he intends to forecast, in accordance with the principles of evolution, the next stage in the industrial and social development of humanity, especially in the United States.[4] Similarly H. G. Wells refers to his *Modern Utopia* as presenting his dream of a Socialist world,[5] and has more recently stated that during an imaginary future in Utopia "propositions that had seemed, in former ages, to be inspired and exalted idealism began now to be recognized not simply as sober psychological truth but as practical and urgently necessary truth."[6] In short, it may be said that the Utopians felt the urgency of reform in the affairs of the world and that they chose the utopian form as a vehicle to convey to mankind at least a part of their teachings.

This rare vehicle was chosen for several reasons. In the first place, it sometimes insured the unrestricted publication of ideas which could not be so safely expressed otherwise. Secondly, it enabled many thinkers who were at work in the frontiers of knowledge to offer suggestions and plans which they themselves accepted tentatively. Again, the utopian form lent itself admirably to the treatment of a subject—the future of mankind —which, demanding as it does well-nigh prophetic gifts, often tends to conquer the human capacity of thought and to inspire vague, broken, and wild ideas. Finally, the utopians have been eager to win followers, and therefore chose to present their speculations in the form of fiction as better calculated to increase the attractiveness of their ideas and the number of converts to their cause.

Mankind has not agreed in its opinion on utopias. To illustrate, a critic points out that as contrasted with satirists, who are inclined to blame human nature for the faults of the world and often end in a gospel of despair, the utopians have hoped,

[2] *Christianopolis*, p. 138.
[3] The *Oceana* is dedicated to Cromwell, who in the story is supposed to be the institutor of the new order.
[4] *Looking Backward*, p. 334.
[5] *New Worlds for Old*, p. 291.
[6] *Men Like Gods*, p. 72.

have pointed the way towards a new earth, and have been mainly constructive, their aim being to fill us with hope and not merely with anger and indignation.[7] It is recognized that inventors of utopias have held up high ideals and emphasized their value in human life,[8] and that they have been centuries ahead of their time in their appraisal of the power of the collective will as an agency of reform.[9] The utopian of old and the man of science of to-day agree in their faith in man's ability to control his destiny in this world, a faith justified by mankind's progress from savagery to civilization.[10] "Without the Utopians of other times," says Anatole France, "men would still live in caves, miserable and naked. It was Utopians who traced the lines of the first city. . . . Out of generous dreams come beneficial realities. Utopia is the better principle of all progress, and the essay into a better future." [11]

On the other hand, in spite of the utopians' precautions for widespread propagation and correct understanding of their ideas and ideals, their schemes have been all too often neglected, misunderstood, or ridiculed. Their utopias have been looked upon merely as exercises of the imagination or literary curiosities rather than as serious projects or contributions,[12] and we are told by supposedly competent judges that the makers of utopias "have confounded a passion for ameliorating the condition of humanity with a passion for attaining the impossible," [13] that "it is not a finished Utopia that we ought to desire, but a world where imagination and hope are alive and active," [14] and that "an acre of Middlesex is better than a principality in Utopia." [15]

[7] W. P. Reeves, "The Expansion of Utopias." In *National Review*, XLV (1905), pp. 805-17.

[8] M. Kauffman, *Utopias*, p. 139; Hertzler, *The History of Utopian Thought*, Chap. VIII; Mumford, *The Story of Utopias*, pp. 298 ff.

[9] Hertzler, *The History of Utopian Thought*, pp. 287 ff.

[10] "The problem of the human future, both societal and biological, is a problem of which man holds the solution very largely in his own hands. It depends on his own intelligent conscious endeavor to solve this problem happily. There are different possible human futures. The one which man wants and works for is the one which men can have." Vernon Kellogg, *Evolution, The Way of Man*, New York, 1924, pp. 294 f.

[11] Quoted by Mumford, *The Story of Utopias*, p. 22, and by Tarbouriech, *La Cité Future*, title page.

[12] Lecky, *Democracy and Liberty*, p. 237; Russell Smith, *Harrington and his Oceana*, p. 12.

[13] Lamartine, in his "Life of Fénelon" in Fénelon's *Telemachus*, ed. by O. W. Wight, Boston, 1881, p. 49.

[14] Bertrand Russell, "Political Ideals," in *The North American Review*, 205 (1917), p. 255.

[15] Macaulay, cited by Hertzler, *History of Utopian Thought*, footnote, p. 267 and by Mumford, *The Story of Utopias*, p. 23.

Brief mention may be made here of the contributions of the utopians to the spiritual and material progress of mankind.[16] Belief in the power of the social will to bring about and control progress, predominance of the social standard of human value over the individualistic standard, emphasis on the environment as a decisive factor in shaping the life of both individual and society, support of the social theory of property, pleas for religious tolerance, advocacy of equality of the sexes,—these are some of their contributions to the world of thought. Eugenic laws, universal and compulsory systems of education, research agencies, ideal systems of government, plans for industrial reorganization, schemes for the avoidance of conflict between classes and nations,—these are practical measures that the utopians proposed for the improvement of society.

Many utopian prophecies touching the fields of religion, education, industry, government, and social life in general have been fulfilled and others are being realized daily around us.[17] The foresight of the utopians is further evidenced by the striking correspondence between their programs of reform and those of advanced thinkers, schools, or parties of modern times.[18]

Yet it must be admitted that the influence of the utopians has not been commensurate with the prestige of their leaders, with the attractiveness of their theories, or with the eloquence of their exposition. Several reasons may account for the gulf that exists between theory and fact in this case. In the first place, men have had to contend first of all and almost wholly with the exigencies of the present. As Vernon Lee tersely says, "This perpetual reaching out to the Future is a violation of Reality. Mankind has not bothered much about the Future because it has had its hands full with the Present." [19] In the second place, the average man has preferred mere palliatives and tentative measures to thoroughgoing reforms. Again, there has been a lack of people willing and able to master and apply the existing

[16] For an excellent discussion of this subject see Hertzler, *The History of Utopian Thought*, Chap. IX.

[17] For an elaboration of this point see Chapter X.

[18] See, for example, the steps in the process of transition to the socialist state of the future as advocated by administrative socialism, in H. G. Wells, *New Worlds for Old*, pp. 248 ff.; also the substitutes for economic socialism, in C. A. Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, pp. 307-9, quoting E. T. Devine, *Misery and its Causes*.

[19] "Open Letter to H. G. Wells, on *A Modern Utopia*," in *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXVI (1906), p. 1133.

knowledge.[20] Furthermore, the reformers have been opposed by the well-to-do and governing classes, who believe that their position is threatened by changes in the organization of society. Finally, most of the utopians made serious mistakes in drawing up their plans, because of the limited knowledge at their command and because of their consequent failure to reckon with human nature and to take the situation before them as the starting point for reform.

Now that we have found our bearings in the world of utopias, let us remember the purpose of our incursion therein. Education is one of the great instrumentalities of progress, and we intend to find out what place has been given to it in utopias, what is in them the share of the most important institutions as educational agencies, and, finally, how the various phases of the educative process are managed in this rare world that has been the ideal and the hope of some of the noblest characters that mankind has produced. Our expedition will satisfy our curiosity, and it may also have a practical value; for who knows what valuable lessons we may learn here that have not yet been applied in the world in which we live?

[20] Mumford, *The Story of Utopias*, pp. 249 f.

CHAPTER II

UTOPIAN CRITICISM OF EDUCATION

In this study of Utopian education we shall not be limited merely to observations of the process of schooling, which is the formal aspect of a broader, more complicated, and more elusive process. "Speaking generically," says Professor John Dewey, "education signifies the sum total of processes by which a community or social group, whether small or large, transmits its acquired powers and aims with a view to securing its own continued existence and growth."[1] It is in this catholic sense that education will be considered here. The educative process of man has two aspects, the formal and the informal; and not only the school, but the home, the church, and the community are, in the widest sense of the term, agencies of education. All these institutions, therefore, we shall observe closely in our travels in Utopia.

Before going further it will be well to examine the utopians' criticisms of the educational situation in our world at the time in which they lived. Their analyses show rare sagacity and, unfortunately, most of them have not even yet lost pertinence. Home, school, and community appear in succession before the judgment seat of the utopians, and their sins of omission and commission are mercilessly exposed. After witnessing the sorry spectacle, we shall be better able to appreciate the utopians' preference for their ideal commonwealths, where the worldly evils that they denounce have utterly disappeared or are being relentlessly driven out.

CRITICISM OF THE HOME

The first institution in which ordinarily the child holds membership is the home. It is through the home that he makes his first contacts with the world and in it he learns his first lessons in the arts of life. When his circle of experience widens so as to

[1] Article on Education, in Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education*, Vol. II, p. 398. (The Macmillan Co., 1911.)

include other formative agencies, the home still has no little influence in the development of the child's individuality and it often is the decisive factor in the formation of his character.

The home, when put in the balance, is found wanting by the makers of utopias. Plato believes that the founding of his Republic is impossible while the home remains as a preponderant factor in the formation of character, and consequently he does away with it.[2] With very few exceptions, his fellow Utopians also find fault with the home as an educational agency. Campanella complains that "individuals for the most part bring forth children wrongly and educate them wrongly," and for that and other reasons, like Plato, he abolishes the home and establishes the community of wives and children.[3] According to Vayrasse, "parents spoil the children most either by foolish indulgence or by extreme severity," and therefore in his utopia they are made to renounce their parental authority when the children attain the age of seven. The children are then placed under the exclusive custody of the State, "so that parents cannot thwart the teachers in the education of their charges." [4]

Robert Owen, in his discussion of social conditions that obtained during the first half of the nineteenth century and that unfortunately are far from having been remedied yet, holds that the houses of the poor and working classes are, as a rule, altogether unfit for the training of young children, who are constantly in the way of their parents; that the children are spoken to and treated just the reverse of the manner required to well-train and well-educate them; and that in 99 cases out of 100 the parents are altogether ignorant of the right method of treating children.[5]

Fourier, a contemporary of Owen and like him a Utopian Socialist, notes among the reasons why parents cannot expect a *quid pro quo* from their children the disgust that the latter experience through the abuse or ill-understood exercise of parental authority, and the contrast they notice when they have attained intellectual maturity between the high pretensions of the parents and the imaginary merits on which they are based.[6] Fourier adds that parents spoil children by yielding to their

[2] See Chapter IV.
[3] *The City of the Sun*, pp. 235 f.
[4] *Histoire des Severambes*, p, 278.
[5] *Autobiography*, vol. 1, p. 83.
[6] *Oeuvres Complètes*, vol. 1, pp. 73 ff.

natural impulses and flattering all their fancies, and sometimes inculcate antisocial tendencies in children by urging them to acquire wealth by any means.[7]

More recently other utopians have asserted that most parents, brutalized or degenerated by want and by the social organization, are only big children and cannot form men;[8] that they are devotees of conformity, making sacrifices to render their children as nearly useless as possible;[9] and that they are negligent and selfish.[10] "The best that can be said of the parents of old was that they were compulsory and not always cost-free friends," says Gabriel Tarde. "One was not wrong in preferring in general to them friends who are a species of optional and unselfish relations."[11]

CRITICISM OF THE SCHOOL

Still stronger is the utopians' indictment of the school, the educational agency in which throughout the centuries mankind has placed its greatest faith. The counts against the school are many and serious. In the first place, its curriculum is criticized as consisting chiefly in the transmission of information, of knowledge that often is of little use in the life career of the learner and that cannot enlist the genuine interest of either student or teacher.[12] We find the utopians vigorously inveighing against the traditionalism of our education, its tendency to retain subject matter no longer of any value to the majority of the students, and to prevent the introduction of new materials and new practices that the changes of the times have made necessary.[13] We see them taking the school to task for empha-

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 32 and 202 f.

[8] Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, pp. 331 f.

[9] Butler, *Erewhon*, p. 203.

[10] Wells, *Men Like Gods*, pp. 289 f.

[11] *Underground Man*, pp. 145 f.

[12] "Education was for most people a niggardly dole of not very accurate information,—something to be swallowed by the beginner in the art of living whether he liked it or not, and was hungry for it or not, and which had been chewed and digested over and over again by people who didn't care about it in order to serve it out to other people who didn't care about it." Morris, *News from Nowhere*, p. 88. The inadequate and extrinsic character of the usual school curriculum is also criticized by Owen, *A New View of Society*, Third Essay, pp. 97 f.; by Ellis, *The Nineteenth Century*, pp. 58 f.; and by Blatchford, *The Sorcery Shop*, p. 63.

[13] "In no part of our social life is dull traditionalism so powerfully entrenched as it is in our educational organization. . . . The heavier and slower a man's mind seems to be, the more addicted he is to intellectual narcotics, the more people trust him as a schoolmaster. He will 'stay put.'" Wells, *The Story of a*

sizing the passive virtues of citizenship, obedience and conformity, to the utter neglect of the active virtues, initiative and originality.[14]

The schools have to train the children in masses, or else the young under present social conditions would have no training at all. The result is that the professional trainers have to follow the methods of nature by applying the law of the survival of the fittest.[15]

We hear, furthermore, that little or no attention is paid to the individual differences of the students;[16] that there is too much of what Fourier calls *simplisme d'action,*[17] or almost exclusive dedication to one type of work; namely, the attempt to master a highly specialized and narrow course of study;[18] that constraint has to be applied so as to make the pupils do the work imposed upon them;[19] and that the schools do not supply the educational guidance so urgently needed by their charges.[20]

Finally, the conditions that lead to superficial work on the part of the teachers are pointed out. Besides the defects of personality which shall be presently discussed, such factors as

Great Schoolmaster, pp. 6 f. As an instance of the utopians' attack on what they deem futile subject matter; namely, the dead languages, see Cabet, *op. cit.,* pp. 331 f., and Butler, *op. cit.,* pp. 215 f. The latter says, "It appeared to me to be a wanton waste of good human energy that men should spend years and years in the perfection of so barren an exercise, when their own civilization presented problems by the hundred which cried aloud for solution and would have paid the solver handsomely."

[14] Butler puts the following words in the mouth of a cynical professor in *Erewhon:* "It is not our business to help students to think for themselves. Surely this is the very last thing which one who wishes them well should encourage them to do. Our duty is to ensure that they shall think as we do, or at any rate, as we hold it expedient to say we do." *Op. cit.,* p. 220. See also, Sweven, *Limanora,* pp. 37 f.; Blatchford, *op. cit.,* p. 57; and Wells, *Men Like Gods,* p. 205.

[15] Sweven, *op. cit.,* pp. 37 f. The undesirability of all mass work in education has been well set forth by President Eliot in his *Conflict between Individualism and Collectivism in a Democracy,* pp. 50 f., Sweven's views being thus corroborated by one of the most prominent of modern educators.

[16] Fourier, *Oeuvres Complètes,* p. 220; Morris, *News from Nowhere,* p. 89.

[17] *Oeuvres Complètes,* p. 220.

[18] See John Dewey, *School and Society,* Revised Edition (University of Chicago Press), pp. 24 f., for a criticism of the type of education that until recently held almost exclusive sway in our schools.

[19] Fourier, *op. cit.,* p. 220; Sweven, *op. cit.,* p. 38.

[20] "Thousands of poor youngsters of fourteen or fifteen in those days knew enough to see clearly that the doors of practical illiteracy were closing in upon them, and yet did not know enough to find a way of escape from this mental extinction." Wells, *The Dream,* p. 139. "A youngster had to go about as eager and furtive as a mouse seeking food, to get even such knowledge of the universe and himself as then existed." *Ibid.,* p. 155.

large classes,[21] inadequate buildings and equipment,[22] insufficient salaries,[23] and the irregularity and casualness of the educational organization [24] are blamed for the shortcomings of formal education.

As can be readily imagined, the schoolhouses do not measure up to the standards of the utopians. Three hundred years ago Andreæ wrote in regard to the schools of his time that "when the world seems to love her children most of all, she often shuts them up in some out-of-the-way, unhealthy, and even dirty prison, where they are brought in contact with filth and become accustomed to such jails." [25] Has there been much improvement in the long interval since Andreæ's words were penned? Not according to Utopian standards. Mr. Wells charges, viewing our educational establishment in an imaginary retrospect, that the teachers "did most of their teaching by voice and gesture and chalk upon a blackboard. Their equipment was miserable. The only materials of which there was enough to go round were a stock of dirty reading-books, Bibles, hymn-books, and a lot of slabs of slate in frames on which we wrote with slate pencils to economize paper." [26] "The fact remains," Mr. Wells goes on to say, "that England grudged its own children the shabbiest education, and so for the matter of fact, did every country. They saw things differently in those days. They were still in the competitive cave. America, which was a much richer country than England, as wealth went then, had, if possible, meaner and shabbier schools for her common people." [27]

Next comes the utopians' appraisal of the character and work of the professional educators in our world. Both old and modern utopians point to the faults and foibles of the teachers of their day. Among the former, Andreæ, himself an educational reformer, is the most caustic in his attack with his allegation that "teachers of letters babbled on behalf of their lack of knowledge of the arts, lack of languages, cheapness of their academic degrees, the insatiable depth of their expenses, and even the direct wishes of scholarship." [28] He further implies

[21] Fourier, *op. cit.*, p. 296; Wells, *The Dream*, p. 25.
[22] Andreæ, *Christianopolis*, pp. 206 and 209; Wells, *The Dream*, p. 24.
[23] Fourier, *op. cit.*, p. 296.
[24] Wells, *The Dream*, p. 154.
[25] Andreæ, *op. cit.*, p. 206.
[26] Wells, *The Dream*, p. 25.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[28] Andreæ, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

that in his time at least the teachers in our world were "drawn from the dregs of human society" and "useless for other occupations," in some cases the students being exposed to "the vilest, most vicious, insipid, and coarsest men, merely because such may be had more cheaply." [29] A century ago Owen was upbraiding the British Government because "the formation of the mind of its subjects is permitted to go at random, often in the hands of those who are the most incompetent in the empire." [30] More recently Morris accuses the two leading English universities, Oxford and Cambridge, of having become definitely commercial in the nineteenth century, and of being the breeding places of cynics and prigs, "a peculiar class of parasites, who called themselves educated people." [31] Sweven criticizes the intolerance of the professional teacher, placing him in this respect on the same level as the despot; "for these get buried in unreality before the life is out of them, and are so unquestionably supreme that nothing but what is pleasing to their minds dare approach them." [32]

Here and there the educators are branded as selfish, but nowhere more mercilessly than in Butler's *Erewhon*. "If there was anything that Butler sharply perceived it was the way the elders become masters of an institution and run it for their own sake at whatever cost to the community." [33]

It was left to H. G. Wells, the most prominent living utopian, to pay a tribute to the humble classroom teachers, the soldiers of the educational army, and to exonerate them from the charges leveled against the schools. After referring to the "gallant work of the underpaid and ill-trained men and women who did the first rough popular teaching," [34] Mr. Wells goes on to say of the teachers: "Oh! *they* couldn't help themselves. They were in a machine, and there were periodic Inspectors and examinations to see that they kept in it." [35]

The utopians are, as can be surmised from the preceding discussion, profoundly skeptical as to the efficacy of our educational establishment as a means of individual and social salvation

[29] Andreæ, *Christianopolis*, pp. 207 f.
[30] Owen, *A New View of Society*, pp. 166 f.
[31] *News From Nowhere*, pp. 207 f. For another criticism of the academic man see Wells, *The Dream*, pp. 202 f.
[32] Sweven, *Limanora*, p. 81.
[33] F. B. Hackett in his Introduction to Butler's *Erewhon*, p. xxii.
[34] Wells, *The Dream*, p. 24.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

and have given vent to their skepticism in unmistakable terms. Morris claims that "In the nineteenth century society was so miserably poor, owing to the systematized robbery on which it was founded, that real education was impossible for anybody." [36] Sweven attacks our methods of mass education: the Limanorans, he says, hold that "nothing gave such persistence to the evils and imperfections of the past, appearing in early life, as the gregariousness of youth. Nothing had done so great a wrong to the race, or had so hindered its progress, as their former educational system with its schools and universities." [37] Blatchford presents a utopia in which, despite the fact that there are no elementary schools at all, the children are beautifully educated. "Although there are no schools!" a stranger exclaims, only to be told that such a condition is possible "*because* there are no schools!" [38] Havelock Ellis claims that education, as the utopians understand it, had scarcely begun to exist in the nineteenth century in our world,[39] and his words are corroborated by H. G. Wells, according to whom what passed for elementary education consisted of "reading, writing, rudimentary computations, 'jogfry' and so forth. That sort of process, truncated by employment at thirteen or fourteen, when curiosity and interest were just beginning to awaken, was as far as education had gone for the bulk of the common men and women in the opening years of the twentieth century. It had produced a vast multitude of people, just able to read, credulous and uncritical and pitifully curious to learn about life and things, pitifully wanting to see and know." [40]

Obviously these students of human affairs fail to see how the system of formal education that the world has devised will hasten the arrival of the Millennium, and eagerly turn their eyes to those ideal commonwealths where perfection is the deliberate and invariable goal.[41] We have already seen their criticisms

[36] Morris, *News from Nowhere*, p. 89.

[37] Sweven, *Limanora*, p. 40.

[38] Blatchford, *The Sorcery Shop*, pp. 55 f.

[39] Ellis, *The Nineteenth Century: A Dialogue in Utopia*, p. 36.

[40] *The Dream*, pp. 194 f.

[41] The utopians' doubts regarding the genuineness and efficiency of modern school systems are shared not only by some lay critics of education but by a growing number of professional educators who express themselves in the frankest and most trenchant terms. In this connection two recent works by university professors deserve special reference; namely, a monograph entitled *Tantalus, or the Future of Man*, by F. C. S. Schiller, of Cambridge University (London, 1924), and the article on Education by R. M. Lovett, of the University of Chicago, in H. E. Stearns (editor), *Civilization in the United States* (New York, 1922). In the former see especially pp. 28 ff. and in the latter pp. 88 ff.

of home and school; we shall now consider their judgment of the community as an educational agency.

CRITICISM OF THE COMMUNITY

The term community is loosely used here to refer to the mixed fabric of institutions and social groups, excepting home, church, and school, with which individuals come in contact. The community thus includes the neighborhood, ranging in accordance with individual differences from a few families to all mankind; associations naturally or artificially formed, such as the boys' gang, the labor union, and the social club; and, finally, all the agencies of government and industry.

This congeries of human institutions, this social atmosphere in which man moves and struggles in this world, was not overlooked by the utopians in their censure of mankind, and, as in the case of home and school, their criticisms of society at large are searching and unsparing.

In the first place, they point to the difference between precept and example that they see all around them. Again the pious Andreæ is the most severe censor of wordly evils and moralizes incessantly about rough realities of the seventeenth century that are still with us in this world. "Christians differ in no repect from men of the world," exclaims this indefatigable preacher. "For whether we look at the churches, the courts, or the universities, nowhere is there a lack of unscrupulous ambition, greed, gluttony, license, jealousy, idleness, and other mastering vices at which Christ violently shuddered, but in which we chiefly delight." [42] He condemns "haughtiness among those in high places, immorality among the clergy, dishonesty among officeholders, extravagance among the citizens, deviations from the right by all persons," and complains that "excellent laws stand out to view; but if any one would urge their enforcement, he would be ridiculed." [43] Fourier emphasizes the fact that the child is under the simultaneous influence of conflicting educational agencies which foster in him irreconcilable tendencies and prevent unity in his education. Thus, while the school is inculcating virtue and contempt of riches, the home is often teaching worldly success, and other factors yet may be counter-

[42] *Christianopolis*, p. 134 f.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

acting both school and home.[44] In other words, the child is exposed simultaneously to several kinds of education, and not to one only, as our complacency or ignorance leads us, as a rule, to believe.

In the second place, the utopians hold out no hope of social justice under the present organization of society. The ruling classes, the privileged and the successful, wish to perpetuate inequality, and therefore persistently refuse to give the poor the education that would enable them to know their rights to equality. They regard it as perfection in government to keep the multitude ignorant and blindly submissive.[45] They fear that if the masses get knowledge and equal opportunities their own luxury and ease and authority will be taken from them, and they therefore oppose real education and real reform.[46] They have given the masses access to enlightenment grudgingly and insufficiently.[47]

In the third place, the utopians condemn the type of leadership which has produced the state of affairs that they see before them.[48] Of this their dreams of reform as embodied in their ideal commonwealths are ample evidence. Perhaps their most serious charge is that the earthly rulers have, on the one hand, neglected the improvement of the human race, nay, they have allowed it to deteriorate; and on the other hand they have permitted its unregulated reproduction, conditioned only by the principle of natural selection, with the result that the world has become tremendously overpopulated.[49]

[44] *Oeuvres Complètes*, V, pp. 201 ff.

[45] Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 331.

[46] Blatchford, *The Sorcery Shop*, pp. 103 f.

[47] Wells, *The Dream*, pp. 194 f.

[48] "All the nations of the earth, with all the boast of each respecting their advance in what they call civilization, are to-day governed by force, fraud, falsehood, and fear, emanating from ignorance in governors and governed." Owen, *Autobiography*, I, p. 77. "These guides and pilots of life [the teachers and priests and doctors and rulers] were wonderful people. They abounded, and guided no one. So far from teaching men and women to control births or avoid diseases or work generously together, they rather prevented such teaching." Wells, *The Dream*, p. 19.

[49] H. G. Wells, that keen and fearless critic of modern society, asserts that overpopulation is the fundamental evil out of which all other evils have arisen, and bases his assertion on the following arguments: (1) the efforts of the intelligent minority to educate at least a sufficient proportion to meet the demands of the hour are rendered nugatory by the rapid increase in population; (2) the masses are the natural prey and support of adventurers; (3) the economic system has become a cruel exploitation of the common man by the predatory and acquisitive few; (4) the common man is hustled through misery and subjection from the cradle to the grave; (5) disasters follow each other in rapid succession, the last being the World War and the consequent disorganiza-

The community, it is true, has provided the masses with the means to secure at least a meager elementary education, the immediate effect of which has been pointed out already.[50] The intellectual curiosity of the people is awakened; but beyond that the community leaves it to private enterprise to extract profit from the satisfaction of the human desire to know.[51] Yet in spite of the elementary education provided by the community and in spite of the thriving activity of great publishing houses, there prevails among mankind, with very few exceptions, a state of profound ignorance about the elementary facts of human life and happiness.[52]

Again, the utopians blame the community for the chaotic conditions prevalent in the professional and industrial field. No means are provided to discover the natural aptitudes of men for the various vocations. Occupations are chosen blindly, people engaging pell-mell in those that come handy or into which the circumstances of their life force them. Such a state of affairs is a cause both of tremendous waste and of perpetual unhappiness,[53] and it affects equally the poor and the rich, the former being the victims of circumstance and the latter of convention.[54] The fact that the professional schools depend to a great extent on the patronage of students for support, and that as a rule only the well-to-do can afford the cost of an expensive course of training, has secured a privilege to the possessors of means; even if they are unfit it is comparatively easy for them to enter the professions.[55] Surely there is, according to the utopians, plenty of room for improvement here.

Finally, the community is upbraided for its lack of social harmony, for its being split into quarreling classes, parties, and sects, each of which yearns to teach the young its own particular bias. National ends, too, affect educational policy, and the children are taught to be industrious and submissive, or masterful and

tion; (6) the effort to make is being superseded by the effort to get; (7) initiative is crushed by an overwhelming system of debt and a swarm of selfish creditors; and (8) organized science is being commercialized, and used to hunt for profitable patents and to forestall necessary supplies. *Men Like Gods*, pp. 69 ff.

[50] See p. 13.

[51] Wells, *The Dream*, p. 195.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[53] Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, p. 137.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] *Ibid.*; Hertzka, *Freeland*, p. 281.

ambitious, according to the station of life into which they are born.[56]

CONCLUSION

Little wonder that the utopians often despair of this world and seek refuge in their ideal commonwealths. Negligence, poverty, selfishness, ignorance, fraud, needless rivalry and struggle—all these are the sworn enemies of enlightenment, and alas! according to the utopians, they hold here an almost absolute and undisputed sway. On all sides are these evils evident, even among those men whose ostensible mission is to stamp them out.

But, after all, these students of human society are merciful towards mankind, whose faults they attribute to misdirected training. As one of their leaders, Sir Thomas More, the philosopher who rediscovered Utopia, says: "If you suffer your people to be ill-educated, and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this, but that you first make thieves and then punish them?" [57]

With these words More struck a keynote that has been repeated by his followers.[58] Evidently the utopians' hopes of social progress in this world are based mainly on education. We shall now, therefore, endeavor to ascertain what place has been assigned to education in the Utopian world and what lessons we may learn therein that are applicable in ours.

[56] Blatchford, *The Sorcery Shop*, pp. 56 f.
[57] More, *Utopia*, p. 66.
[58] See, e.g., Owen, *A New View of Society*, Second Essay, p. 39.

CHAPTER III

THE PLACE OF EDUCATION IN UTOPIAS

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

As shown in the preceding chapter, the utopians find the educational situation in our world greatly in need of reform, their caustic and sweeping criticisms embracing the home, the school, and the community. At the same time these social thinkers offer us the vision of their ideal states where, first and last, education is the mainspring of progress, where its enlightened authority prevails, and where through its beneficent influence the harassing evils of our world have either disappeared or are being deliberately blotted out.

This chapter will set forth the functions and fundamental principles of utopian education, thus showing the importance of education in the creation and preservation of the utopian social order.[1] It will be seen in this and subsequent chapters that the utopians' denunciation of evils is accompanied by definite suggestions of remedies.

True, in the Utopian world as in ours, some countries are much older than others, and at first thought, it may seem that the educational aims, curricula, and means, say, of Plato's *Republic* and Wells's *Modern Utopia* must have little in common. It is a far cry from Plato to Wells: in the course of the centuries social organization has changed, knowledge has advanced, and authority has shifted, at times existing chiefly in the individual and at other times in the group of which the individual is a part. However, a number of common threads run through many of these utopian patterns, as already seen in several instances, thus demonstrating once more that certain facts of human life possess abiding vitality and successfully resist the onslaught of time. The utopias, then, are not altogether anachronisms. From the point of view of education better than from any other vantage

[1] The reader should note that the word *education* is used in this study in its widest sense. See p. 8.

point, they are seen enveloped in an atmosphere of modernity that adds to the interest and practical value of their study.

AIMS OF UTOPIAN EDUCATION

Proceeding next into Utopia, the student of education observes the social machinery at work, and thus the aims or functions of Utopian educational activities become obvious to him. In the first place, education is the firm foundation on which Utopia has been built. Without it Utopia could not have become the reality that it is in the minds of its founders.[2] The welfare and safety of Plato's *Republic* depends on a class of warriors and guardians, the finished product of a rigid and protracted course of training. Similarly in most of the other countries of the Utopian world and in the reformed societies of the Utopian Socialists, education is an indispensable condition of social existence and progress.[3]

Furthermore, given the right kind of education, there will be no need of social reform. The utopians deprecate the attempt to reform mankind through prohibitive legislation, particularly if the prevalent means and methods of education are at fault. The regulations of the *Republic* will be trifles all if care is taken of the one great thing—education.[4] In *Christianopolis* the citizens are fully aware of the futility of legislation as a reformative agency.[5] So in *Nova Solyma:* laws, army, national defenses,

[2] The amount of space given in their fictions to the discussion of education is a rough index of the importance attributed to the subject by the utopians. In this respect, as in so many others, Plato holds the lead; for his *Republic,* while presenting his ideal scheme, is at the same time the oldest systematic treatise on education in existence. About a quarter of Andreæ's *Christianopolis* has to do with education in some form or other. A quarter, too, of Bacon's *New Atlantis* deals with Solomon's House, the great research institute of that kingdom. With the modern utopians education is also a frequently recurring theme.

[3] "The founders of the republic, in their zealous inquiry how best to establish it on a sound basis, put the education of the rising generation in the very forefront of all means to that end." Gott, *Nova Solyma,* I, p. 235.

"Education, the plastic art of government." Harrington, *Oceana,* p. 172.

". . . instruction to the young must be, of necessity, the only foundation upon which the superstructure of society can be raised." Owen, *A New View of Society,* Fourth Essay, p. 148.

"Education seems to us the basis and foundation of the whole of our social and political system, and it is to it that the People and its representatives perhaps have given the greatest attention." Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie,* p. 74.

"The whole measure of progress in a generation is the measure in which the children improve in physical and mental quality, in moral coördination, in opportunity, upon their parents. Wells, *New Worlds for Old,* p. 27.

[4] Plato, *The Republic,* Book IV, p. 112.

[5] Andreæ, *Christianopolis,* p. 237.

all here are of comparatively little avail, unless virtue is early implanted in the minds of the young.[6] The people of *Oceana* will likewise loathe and detest the laws that are passed to regulate their lives unless such laws are in harmony with their education.[7] "One benefit to be derived from this [education for character] will be the possibility of abandoning legislative restrictions whose effect is inimical to self-control and to intelligent self-protection. It will no longer be necessary to protect the people by law from the consequences of their own foolishness, and we shall have learned that it is much better for the public to be encouraged to safeguard its own interests than to be relieved of the necessity to do so." [8]

Still in another manner do our utopian thinkers evince their confidence in education as a mean of social progress. According to them, only through the instrumentality of education will mankind ever scale the lofty heights already reached by the inhabitants of their ideal states. Plato, in his usual grand manner, would begin by banishing all the inhabitants who are more than ten years old and then would train their children, unaffected by the example of the elders, in the habits and laws of his philosophers.[9] Andreæ had a more practical mind; his educational scheme can be applied without recourse to such a radical break with the past as that proposed by Plato. In fact, as a professional educator Andreæ tried to carry into practice some of his pedagogical ideas, but he was handicapped by the ravaged condition of the Germany of his time.[10] Owen, too, was a practical educator, and it was largely his work as such that first gave him international renown.[11] The most recent utopian advocate of education as a means of social progress is H. G. Wells. Among the measures that he proposes to secure world peace one is to the effect that the common people and the subject peoples are to be educated and drilled, to be led to a common speech and a common literature, and to be assimilated and made citizens.[12] According to him the beginnings of the new Utopian order are found in discussions, books, and psychological labora-

[6] Gott, *Nova Solyma*, I, pp. 235 f.
[7] Harrington, *Oceana*, pp. 171 f.
[8] T. B. Russell, *A Hundred Years Hence*, p. 236.
[9] *The Republic*, Book VII, p. 245.
[10] F. E. Held, in his Introduction to Andreæ, *Christianopolis*, pp. 13 f.
[11] G. D. H. Cole, *Robert Owen*, p. 97.
[12] *A Modern Utopia*, pp. 335 f.

tories; and schools and colleges are the soil in which they grow.[13]

In Utopia, then, education is the foundation of the social structure and the most powerful instrument of progress. It also acts as a sort of social prophylactic, rendering unnecessary the constant battle for individual and social reform that characterizes our society. From these ultimate aims of utopian education, let us pass to an enumeration of their most important corollaries.

First, *education is the most effective means of individual direction and control.* We hear from the utopians that "the direction in which education starts a man, will determine his future life";[14] that the founders of the republic "thought it would not be an easy, natural thing for the citizens to act for the common weal unless from their youth up they were accustomed to restrain their natural evil desires, and to learn that habit of mind by which they would willingly, in their own interests, keep inviolate the laws of God and their country and put the advantage of the republic before any private or personal benefits whatever";[15] and that "A Man is a Spirit raised by the Magic of Nature; if he does not stand safe, and so that she may set him to some good and useful work, he spits fire, and blows up Castles: for where there is life, there must be motion or work; and the work of idleness is mischief, but the work of industry is health. To set Men to this, the Commonwealth must begin betimes with them, or it will be too late: and the means whereby she sets them to it is EDUCATION, the plastic art of Government."[16]

Second, *education is likewise the most effective means of social direction and control.* As Jowett points out,[17] Plato is impressed with the conviction that vice arises chiefly from ignorance, and may be cured by education; and that the masses are hardly to be deemed responsible for their actions. Owen seems to have been animated both in his writings and in his practical work by a similar sentiment. His *New View of Society* is based on the principle that "Children collectively may be taught any sentiments or habits," or in other words, "trained to

[13] *Men Like Gods*, p. 77.
[14] Plato, *The Republic*, Book IV, p. 114.
[15] Gott, *Nova Solyma*, I, pp. 235 f.
[16] Harrington, *Oceana*, pp. 171 f. See also Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, p. 137; Hertzka, *Freeland*, p. 291; Russell, *A Hundred Years Hence*, pp. 74 f.
[17] Introduction to Plato's *Republic*, ccl.

acquire any character." [18] Last of all in time, Wells in his *Men Like Gods* describes an anarchistic utopia made possible through education. "Utopia has no parliament, no politics, no private wealth, no business competition, no police nor prisons, no lunatics, no defectives nor cripples, and it has none of these things because it has schools and teachers who are all that schools and teachers can be. Politics, trade, and competition are the methods of adjustment of a crude society. Such methods of adjustment have been laid aside in Utopia for more than a thousand years. There is no rule nor government needed by adult Utopians because all the rule and government they need they have had in childhood and youth.

"Said Lion: 'Our education is our government.' " [19]

Third, *education produces participation in and enjoyment of social life.* This function is conspicuous in the schemes propounded by two groups of thinkers, who in this case, as in so many others, reflect the spirit of their time; namely, the early modern utopians of the seventeenth century and the Utopian Socialists of the nineteenth. The former group gives vent to the intellectual boldness, the respect for knowledge, and the fervid and expanded hopes of worldly happiness characteristic of the humanists of the Renaissance. The latter group, with its faith in the goodness of human nature and with its confidence based on modern scientific progress, believes that if only the institutional arrangements of society are reformed, the millennial life will become a reality in this world.

Fourth, *education is the means of social classification.* The utopians endeavor to do away with social classification based on the adventitious grounds of birth and wealth and to enable the superior people to obtain through education the necessary capacity for ruling. In this they are at one with modern progressive thinkers. "In a democracy," says President Eliot, "education is the chief factor in determining the social classification, although birth contributes, since birth often determines the early material and spiritual environment." [20]

Two well-known schemes of social classifications in utopias are those proposed by Plato in *The Republic* and by Wells in *A Modern Utopia.* In the former, as Adamson points out, educa-

[18] *A New View of Society,* p. 143.
[19] Wells, *Men Like Gods,* p. 80.
[20] Eliot, C. W., *The Conflict between Collectivism and Individualism in a Democracy,* p. 65.

tion is introduced as preparation of each class so that all may work harmoniously together and produce justice in the state.[21] In Wells's *Modern Utopia* classification is also resorted to for political and social purposes. Wells claims that "the large intricacy of Utopian organization demands more powerful and efficient method of control than electoral methods can give." [22]

Fifth, *education fosters social solidarity.* The fact that education is used as the means of social classification may seem antagonistic to its use for the promotion of social integration. Upon examination this apparent incongruity vanishes. Hereditary privileges are no more in Utopia. Social status depends on personal worth, which in turn is conditioned to a great extent by the education that the individual has received. Now, since as a rule the means of education are available to all the citizens, every person is given ample opportunity to prepare himself under proper guidance for the vocation best suited to his capacity. There is much less self-deception in Utopia than in this world, a fact which helps to make each person satisfied with his station in life, to reduce social friction to a minimum, and, conversely, to increase social harmony. Furthermore, the arrangements made in many utopias in the matter of work and leisure are calculated to promote social solidarity, as shown in subsequent sections of this study.[23]

PRINCIPLES OF UTOPIAN EDUCATION

The achievement of the aims of Utopian education is made possible through the application of certain fundamental principles which, as a rule, guide the educational undertakings in that ideal world. These principles again reveal the utopians as men of clear vision and remarkable originality, who transcend their time with their bold and novel theories, some of which are accepted by succeeding generations while others possess not a small measure of plausibility and are claiming acceptance by modern thought. We shall now discuss briefly these principles of Utopian education.

1. *Equality of Educational Opportunity.*—This principle shows various stages of development in Utopia. It is not considered at all by some of the pioneers. Plato says nothing about the edu-

[21] *The Theory of Education in Plato's "Republic,"* p. 18.

[22] *A Modern Utopia*, p. 250. For a discussion of Wells's scheme of social classification see pp. 142 f.

[23] See Chapter VII and pp. 128 ff.

cation of the artisan class, the most numerous in the *Republic*. More, Bacon, Campanella are silent on universal education since they merely take it for granted in an ideal social order. Beginning with Andreæ and Gott about the middle of the seventeenth century, there appear definite and varied expressions of opinion which fall under various categories. Andreæ states that in his utopia all the children of both sexes are taken into training.[24] Gott proposes a modicum of instruction for all classes; but is afraid of the discontent with their station in life that the "higher culture" may produce among the lower orders,[25] a fear that has been echoed by others in recent times.[26] A step farther is taken with the advocacy of opportunity based on individual capacity.[27] Increasingly liberal proposals then follow in plenty. Free elementary education is proposed by Harrington,[28] Berington,[29] Grivel,[30] and Owen.[31] Cabet adds free vocational training, "instruction especially suitable to their particular professions." [32] Last of all in order, but most generous in their proposals, Bellamy [33] and Wells [34] extend to all the benefits of a free higher

[24] *Christianopolis*, p. 208.

[25] *Nova Solyma*, I, 238.

[26] See, for instance, Saunders, *Kalomera*, pp. 62 f. Guizot, in a speech before the French Chamber of Deputies in 1833, publicly voiced his fears of the consequences of the extension of secondary education to the masses. Cf. E. H. Reisner, *Nationalism and Education since 1789* (Macmillan, 1922), pp. 53 f. For a more recent criticism of the policy of extending higher education to the masses, see H. E. Gorst, *The Curse of Education* (Grant Richards, London, 1904).

[27] Tarbouriech, *La Cité Future*, p. 327; Rathenau, *The New Society*, pp. 125 f.

[28] Harrington asserts the right of the community to participate conjointly with the home in the education of children and therefore proposes compulsory free schools under government inspection. *Oceana*, p. 172.

[29] "All children without exception pursue their studies and are brought up at the expense of the people, without any other distinction than the one which their personal merit gives them." *Mémoires de Gaudence de Luques*, pp. 207 f.

[30] "Instruction must be public, as being a part of the functions of sovereignty, established under its authority, and given at its expense." *L'Isle Inconnue*, III, pp. 43 f.

[31] "Under the guidance of minds competent to its direction, a national system of training and education may be formed, to become the most safe, easy, effectual, and economical instrument of government that can be devised. . . . But the time is now arrived when the British government may with safety adopt a national system of training and education for the poor and uninstructed." *A New View of Society*, Fourth Essey, p. 150.

[32] *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 36.

[33] In Bellamy's utopia six grades are added to the former common school system of compulsory education, "carrying the youth to the age of twenty-one and giving him what used to be called the education of a gentleman, instead of turning him loose at fourteen or fifteen with no mental equipment beyond reading, writing and the multiplication table." *Looking Backward*, p. 216. "The highest education is deemed necessary to fit a man merely to live, without any reference to the sort of work that he may do." *Ibid.*, p. 218.

[34] Wells believes it possible "to define conditions under which every inhabitant born with poietic gifts should be enabled and encouraged to give them full

education, an idea that is endorsed by modern educational philosophy.[35]

2. *Education as a Coöperative Undertaking.*—Most of the utopians call for the coöperation of various agencies in the execution of their educational schemes. In this respect Plato and Campanella stand out as shining exceptions. With them the state is the supreme agency of education, the family having been abolished as the natural enemy of the state.[36] More retains the family, which is for him the unit of social organization, and provides for a close partnership between the home and the state in the matter of education.[37] After him, coöperation in varying degrees is the rule. Perhaps the best early argument in favor of government intervention in education is the one given by Harrington.[38]

3. *Control of Formal Education a Public Function.*—The prevalent practice in Utopia is to entrust formal education, or consciously directed, systematic training, to public officials. There are few exceptions to this rule, and they usually occur, as is natural, in anarchistic utopias.[39]

4. *Social Needs as the Criterion of Worth of Subject Matter.*—The utopians are among the earliest exponents of the social

development, in art, philosophy, invention or discovery." *A Modern Utopia,* p. 265. In *Men Like Gods* he puts forth a plan for the realization of that ideal (pp. 280 f). In Utopia they have now gained complete control of many fountains of natural energy, and such control is the heritage of every child born therein. At his birth he is credited with a sum sufficient to educate and maintain him up to the age of twenty-four or twenty-five, and then is expected to choose some occupation to replenish his account.

[35] A prominent American educator, Professor David Snedden, of Columbia University, describes an imaginary community, Gopher Prairie, A. D. 2000, that is a democratically homogeneous group as regards minimum essentials of education; here all men and women have had at least twelve years of full-time school education. The sanguine hopes of the utopians are thus corroborated by an authority on education. See "Gopher Prairie, A. D. 2000" in *School and Society,* XVIII (1923), p. 214.

[36] *The Republic,* Book V, p. 150; *City of the Sun,* pp. 225 and 236.

[37] *Utopia,* pp. 101 ff., 131 f., 91, and 96 f.

[38] According to the author of the *Oceana* man is liable to go wrong unless properly trained. An early beginning is essential. But it often happens that through the parents' negligence or weakness innumerable children come to grief. Furthermore, education must inculcate reverence for the law. "The education, therefore, of a man's own children is not wholly to be committed or trusted to himself." *Oceana,* pp. 171 f.

[39] For instance, in Blatchford's *The Sorcery Shop* the schools have been dismantled and the children have . . . "gone back to *mother.*" P. 57. In Saunders' *Kalomera,* which is not an anarchistic utopia, primary education, meaning by this term the general education that all children receive, is a private matter, being left in the hands of mothers and private teachers. However, there is some government participation through supervision, teacher training, and provision of books and apparatus. P. 154.

point of view in education,—of the principle that the subject matter should be determined by social needs. Andreæ is out of sympathy with the training in dialectic prevalent in the universities and higher schools of his time, and advocates the study of natural science.[40] Likewise Campanella and Gott criticize mere book-learning as, on the one hand, requiring a large expenditure of time and effort and, on the other hand, failing to prepare the students for the duties of life in society.[41] Mercier asserts that the two dead languages in which the students were instructed before the arrival of the Utopian Age could not give them the least idea of the men with whom they were to live, and that now they select only that subject matter that will give them true and useful ideas.[42] He also advocates the study of the contemporary period.[43] Utilitarian ideas hold the field in other ideal states as well. In Berington's utopia the most useful arts are the ones held in greatest esteem,—first, the liberal arts; next in rank, agriculture.[44] In Cabet's *Icarie* the guiding principle is to seek in everything what is *useful* and *agreeable*, but to begin always with what is *necessary*.[45] Finally, in Blatchford's "new" England the idea is not to waste the time and powers of the girl or boy over the acquirement of useless knowledge.[46]

5. *Immediate Objectives of Education.*—Some utopias have not definitely formulated the immediate objectives of education,

[40] *Christianopolis*, p. 198.

[41] "For such knowledge [of grammar, or logic, or of Aristotle or another author] as this of yours much servile labour and memory work is required, so that a man is rendered unskillful; since he has contemplated nothing but the words of books and has given his mind with useless result to the consideration of the dead signs of things. Hence he knows not in what way God rules the universe, nor the ways and customs of nature and the nations." Campanella, *The City of the Sun*, pp. 229 f.

". . . we are not placed here to be bound to mere book-learning, or incessantly devoted to letters, but the affairs of State have special call upon us, a point to which our present-day pedagogues pay no regard whatever. They educate us as if we were all to become in the future philosophers or hermits, as if we had nothing in common with the interests of the family or the State, when, as a matter of fact, we are joined thereto by the closest of ties." Gott, *Nova Solyma*, I, pp. 242 f.

[42] *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*, I, p. 56.

[43] "The transactions of each age are the most interesting of all others for the contemporaries; and of all ages, those of the present only are not to be investigated. They have written laboriously of ancient and foreign history; but have turned their attention from present facts. The spirit of conjecture is displayed at the expense of accuracy." *Ibid.*, I, p. 210.

[44] *Mémoires de Gaudence de Luques*, p. 210.

[45] *Voyage en Icarie.*

[46] *The Sorcery Shop*, p. 61.

that is, the primary, more detailed purposes necessary for the achievement of the broader ultimate purposes that have been discussed already, and consequently the observer has to infer them from the scheme of education that he sees before him. This deficiency is first noticed in Plato's *Republic;* but former students of this utopia have pointed out, after a minute study of its remarkable system of education, what are here the chief immediate objectives. First, education brings about full development of the individual in body and mind.[47] Second, it develops habits, tastes, interests, ideals.[48] Third, it ascertains what each individual is most fitted by nature to do, and then prepares him for this work.[49] Fourth, it makes each man desirous of fulfilling his appointed function in life satisfactorily.[50] Fifth, it discovers and develops the superior man.[51] Sixth, and last, it fits the superior man for the life of the philosopher and for the government of the state.[52]

In other utopias we find specific mention of immediate ends to be attained as the result of the educative process. Sir Thomas More, for instance, emphasizes in a remarkable passage the

[47] *The Republic,* Book II, p. 59. "Plato's idea of education is that of harmonious growth, in which are insensibly learnt the lessons of temperance and endurance, and body and mind develop in equal proportions. The first principle which runs through all art and nature is simplicity; this also is to be the rule of human life." Jowett, in Introduction to *The Republic,* p. ccli.

[48] Herein Adamson finds one of the main differences between Plato's system and modern ones; for this aim was all-important for Plato whereas it is in the background with us. "Think of the body of studies, of the time-table which regulates their succession, or of the manner in which lessons proceed, and the one thing of paramount importance seems to be the addition of something to our pupils' store of knowledge. Our care would seem to be for the intellect rather than the feelings and the will; we have substituted the acquisition of knowledge for the making of character." *The Theory of Education* in *Plato's "Republic,"* pp. 227 f.

[49] Monroe, P., *History of Education,* p. 139. (The Macmillan Co., 1905.)

[50] Adamson, *op. cit.,* p. 142.

[51] "Thus the aim of the educational process is, for Plato, not so much the general spread of intelligence as it is the discovery and development of the superior man,—an idea which was again revived in the nineteenth century and expressed in Carlyle's 'hero,' Schopenhauer's 'genius' and Nietzsche's 'superman.' Durant, W., *Philosophy and the Social Problem,* p. 46. The lesser individuals are supposed to discover their natural bent as the selective process takes place, and to be satisfied without a voice in the guidance of the state, for that, according to Plato, is a reward for demonstrated capacity and not a 'natural right'." Hertzler, *The History of Utopian Thought,* p. 116.

This function and the next are corollaries of the fourth; but they have such great importance in the *Republic* that they merit separate recognition.

[52] "The education which he proposes for his citizens is really one which will fit them for the ideal life of the philosopher or man of genius, interrupted only for a time, by practical duties; it is really a life not for the many but for the few." Hertzler, *op. cit.,* p. 112.

pleasures of body and mind in Utopia.[53] His immediate successors as a rule put religion or piety in the first place as the most important aim of education from the point of view of the individual, while morality comes second, and knowledge last.[54] They also recognize preparation for a calling as an aim of education, although not on a basis of equality of opportunity for all children.[55]

Turning now to the newer utopias, we first find that they follow the example of the older ones in stressing three objectives; namely, (1) harmonious development of body and mind;[56] (2) vocational training;[57] and (3) formation of character.[58] It is in *Icaria* that next we discover an original formulation of aims, one that is in thorough accord with the most progressive educational theory of the present day. Education gives the Icarians the physical and moral habits necessary to man in society;[59] it develops certain essential mental qualities,—curiosity, reason, and judgment;[60] it recognizes that "study, experiments, science, and discovery, have so much attraction that they are loved for their own sake, without further interest, sacrificing on the contrary all other interests . . . ," yet through ideal conditions of life it adds to their charm and their sway;[61] it provides for every individual the specialized or professional training necessary for him to succeed in his trade or profession.[62] In short, "this education has for its purpose forming good workingmen, good parents, good citizens, and true men."[63]

[53] "They reckon up several sorts of pleasures, which they call true ones: some belong to the body and others to the mind. The pleasures of the mind lie in knowledge, and in that delight which the contemplation of truth carries with it; to which they add the joyful reflections on a well-spent life, and the assured hopes of a future happiness." The pleasures of the body consist in the satisfaction of our physical needs and the possession of good health. *Utopia*, pp. 122 f.

[54] "Their first and highest exertion is to worship God with a pure and faithful soul; the second, to strive towards the best and most chaste morals; the third, to cultivate the mental powers—an order reversed by the world, if any thought of God still remains among the inhabitants of the latter." Andreæ, *Christianopolis*, p. 209. For a similar statement, see Gott, *Nova Solyma*, I, p. 239. Harrington names religion, justice, courage, and wisdom as things which "are first for their dignity and value." *Oceana*, p. 178.

[55] Gott, *op. cit.*, I, p. 238; Harrington, *op. cit.*, p. 177 f.

[56] Fourier, *Oeuvres Complètes*, V, pp. 116 f.; Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, p. 222; Hertzka, *Freeland*, p. 243.

[57] Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, pp. 74 and 81 f.; Hertzka, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

[58] Owen, *A New View of Society*, Fourth Essay, p. 149; T. B. Russell, *A Hundred Years Hence*, 173 and 209; Wells, *What Is Coming?*, pp. 151 f.

[59] Cabet, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 85 f.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 403.

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 74 and 81 f.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Coming at last into the most modern country in Utopia—the one that H. G. Wells's fertile imagination has created—we again find on all sides fresh evidences of modernity, not less so in the field of education than elsewhere. Wells states results achieved,[64] and from them we can see that at least the following ends are provided for: (1) eugenics or race hygiene; (2) healthy environment; (3) full development of the individual; (4) self-knowledge and self-control; (5) vocational guidance and training; and (6) coöperation.

6. *The Place of Heredity and Environment.*—The respective rôles that heredity or nature and environment or nurture play in the education of man have been in recent times the cause of endless and often heated controversy among the educators in our world, some of whom have advocated either of two extreme views, one that original nature is essentially wrong, and the other that it is always right.

For the utopians, with the exception of H. G. Wells,[65] this problem does not exist; they seem to lack the knowledge of human nature that we possess,[66] and are betrayed by their blind faith in its goodness.[67] Their general misconception of human nature leads them to believe that a wholesome environment, and particularly an efficient system of education, will suffice to sustain the Utopian social order.

Plato stands out among the early utopians as a conspicuous exception in realizing the existence of native differences among

[64] Some of these results are as follows: Each child is born well, of perfectly healthy parents, its mother having chosen to bear it after due thought and preparation; gratification by subtle educational methods of the child's impulses to play and to learn; teaching every child to full measure of its possibilities; transformation of its curiosity into scientific passion; recognition of creative work as the main thing in human life; knowledge of the history of the world and of mankind; knowledge of human nature; loss of solicitude for self; tolerance and understanding of others; control of jealous impulses; initiation into work indicated by the individual's desires and capacity. *Men Like Gods*, pp. 78 f.; *The Dream*, p. 73.

[65] In justice to Mr. Wells he must be singled out in this case since in writing his utopias he has taken into account the facts about human nature that modern progress in psychology has revealed.

[66] Owen was aware of the lack of knowledge of human nature prevalent in his day (*Autobiography*, I, p. 140). Yet, as we shall presently see, he was the foremost champion of the theory of environment, according to which, to use his own words, "man's character is made for and not by him."

[67] See, e.g., the estimate of the human passions given by Mercier, *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*, II, p. 97. For a more recent encomium of human nature see W. D. Howells' utopian romance, *A Traveller from Altruria*, p. 228. Both views may be contrasted with the discussion of the defects in man's original nature presented by Professor E. L. Thorndike in his *Educational Psychology*, Vol. I, pp. 277 ff. (Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913).

men; for he states that "certain professors of education must be wrong when they say that they can put a knowledge into the soul which was not there before, like sight into blind eyes. Whereas our argument shows that power and capacity of learning exists in the soul already." [68] This charge of the utopian leader, while undoubtedly aimed at the sophists of his day, at the same time implies what is now a commonplace of psychology; namely, that ability to learn varies in accordance with native endowments. This fact was either undiscovered or ignored by his successors. More,[69] Harrington,[70] the Utopian Socialists of the nineteenth century,[71] one and all believe in the preponderant influence of the environment in making men what they are and in the arrival of the new order with the reconstruction of society in accordance with their schemes.

The most eloquent and active propounder of this view is Robert Owen. This great philanthropist ascribes miraculous powers to a wholesome environment, and the most frequently recurring idea in his works is that the environment makes or mars the character of men. For Owen, man is wholly the creature of the circumstances that surround him from birth.[72]

7. *Individual Differences as a Factor in Education.*—A problem of education that has its origin in the contributions of nature and environment to man's character is the problem of individual differences.[73] With this problem the utopians have been grappling for a long time; for in spite of the shortcomings of their knowledge of human nature they fully realize the existence of differences among individuals, some due to nature and

[68] *The Republic*, Book VII, p. 218.

[69] See quotation given on page 17.

[70] *Oceana*, p. 177.

[71] Fourier, *Oeuvres Complètes*, I, pp. 65 f.; Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, pp. 385 and 402.

[72] "The constitution of every infant, except in case of organic disease, is capable of being formed or matured, either into a very inferior, or a very superior being, according to the qualities of the external circumstances allowed to influence that constitution from birth." *Book of New Moral World*, p. 25.

"The character of man is, without a single exception, always formed for him; it may be, and is chiefly, created by his predecessors; they give him, or may give him, his ideas and habits, which are the powers that govern and direct his conduct. Man, therefore, never did, nor is it possible he ever can, form his own character." *A New View of Society*, Third Essay, pp. 90 f. See also Second Essay, p. 59; Fourth Essay, pp. 146 f.; and *Autobiography*, I, p. 224.

[73] A full discussion of this subject is found in E. L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology*, Vol. III, Part II. For a briefer and more recent account see A. I. Gates, *Psychology for Students of Education*, Chap. XVII (The Macmillan Co., 1923).

others due to nurture.[74] They feel that mental capacity and inborn traits in general, together with the individual's environment, particularly his social and economic status, must needs affect the educational arrangements of their ideal states.

Robert Owen, the staunchest advocate of the preponderance of environment over nature in education, recognizes the existence of individual differences [75] and does not aim at their suppression. Rather his aim is, as his latest biographer points out, "by inspiring men collectively with a good code of social conduct, not to suppress their differences, but to enable them to live together in mutual charity and fellowship." [76]

Here, too, Plato has set an example that has been followed by some of his successors. As already indicated, his scheme of education has for its purpose securing justice in the Republic by putting each man in the station of life for which he is best fitted, and it culminates in the development of a class of philosophers who alone have the power to rule the state. His system is based on a rigid selection entirely conditioned by individual differences in native ability.

In other utopias the existence of individual differences is acknowledged in the varying provisions made for the education of the young. For example, it may be that the pupils are tried in a wide range of subjects of study so as to discover their native aptitudes; [77] or that their social status is reckoned with as a factor conditioning their training; [78] or that specialized education is provided after a period of uniform schooling which has revealed unmistakable differences.[79]

8. *Relation between Interest and Discipline.*—A fundamental principle of method [80] in education has to do with the relation

[74] Plato, quoted above, p. 30; Gott, *Nova Solyma*, I, p. 93; Grivel, *L'Isle Inconnue*, II, pp. 89 f; Mercier, *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*, II, pp. 63 f. Owen, *Book of the New Moral World*, p. 21; *New View of Society*, Second Essay, p. 34; Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, pp. 377 f.

[75] ". . . although these compounds [the children], like all other works of nature, possess endless varieties, yet they partake of that plastic quality, which, by perseverance under judicious management, may be ultimately molded into the very image of rational wishes and desires." *A New View of Society*, Second Essay, p. 34.

[76] G. D. H. Cole, *Robert Owen*, p. 102.

[77] Gott, *Nova Solyma*, I, p. 241; Blatchford, *The Sorcery Shop*, p. 62.

[78] Gott, *op. cit.*, I, p. 236; Mercier, *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*, Vol. 2, p. 92.

[79] T. B. Russell, *A Hundred Years Hence*, p. 162; Wells, *A Modern Utopia*, pp. 257 ff.

[80] "Method means that arrangement of subject matter which makes it most effective in use. Never is method something outside of the material." John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, p. 194 (The Macmillan Co., 1916).

between interest and discipline.[81] From first to last the consensus of theory and practice in utopias is to the effect that interest and discipline are far from being mutually antagonistic and that, on the contrary, they reinforce each other.[82]

9. *Variety of Work.*—The older utopias do not recognize a principle of education that has gained general acceptance in the more recent ones; namely, the principle of variety or alternation of work.[83] Its gist is that variety of work is imperative in man's life, and that thereby monotony will be prevented and individual and collective efficiency increased. This principle, appearing as it does only in the later utopias, seems to be a reaction on the part of contemporary utopians against the growing tendency toward specialization in modern times, which often has harmful effects upon the intellectual and physical development of the individual.

CONCLUSION

The preceding survey has shown that in utopias education is the mainstay of society. The principles reviewed reveal at once the keen analytical ability of the utopians, their optimistic spirit of construction, and their unanimous faith in the power of

[81] "Discipline means power at command; mastery of the resources available for carrying through the action undertaken." Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, p. 151.

[82] Note a few short statements of the utopians on this point, and then compare them with the last statement in the group by one of the best known of living educators. The utopians' insight into problems of education is again shown here.

"Knowledge which is acquired under compulsion obtains no hold on the mind." Plato, *The Republic*, VII, p. 240.

"Boys are accustomed to learn all the sciences, without toil and as if for pleasure; but in the way of history only until they are ten years old." Campanella, *The City of the Sun*, p. 224.

"We find that the majority of those who are pressed to undertake uncongenial studies get lazy and careless until they return to what they naturally prefer." Gott, *Nova Solyma*, I, p. 241.

"Each lesson must be a game and each game a lesson." Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 82.

" 'Tis no use forcing people's tastes." Morris, *News from Nowhere*, p. 46.

" 'Let us live with our children' certainly means, first of all, that our children shall live—not that they shall be hampered and stunted by being forced into all kinds of conditions, the most remote consideration of which is relevancy to the present life of the child. If we seek the kingdom of heaven, educationally, all other things shall be added unto us—which, being interpreted, is that if we identify ourselves with the real instincts and needs of childhood, and ask only after its fullest assertion and growth, the discipline and information and culture of adult life shall all come in their due season." John Dewey, *The School and Society*, Revised Edition, pp. 54 f. (University of Chicago Press, first published 1900.)

[83] For a discussion of this principle, see pp. 101 ff.

education to bring about and preserve the ideal society. How the principles of Utopian education are applied and its aims realized will be the theme of the rest of this study. It will be seen that to each of the fundamental institutions of society the utopians assign definite educational functions and that often they fail to agree in the apportionment of those functions among the various agencies to which they may be entrusted.

CHAPTER IV

THE HOME AS AN EDUCATIONAL AGENCY

The rôle of the home as an educational agency has been briefly discussed already and the utopians' criticisms of it presented.[1] This chapter will deal with the status of the home, the regulation of the relations between the sexes, and the educational functions of the home in utopias.

THE STATUS OF THE HOME

Three type attitudes towards the home prevail in utopias; namely, (1) abolition of the home, as advocated by Plato and Campanella; (2) establishment of the home in accordance with custom and statutory enactments, as More, Bacon, Howells, and Wells would have it; and (3) freedom of action with only a minimum of restraint in the marriage relation, as proposed by Fourier, Bellamy, and Hertzka.

(1) Plato and Campanella see in the family the enemy of the state. Both abolish it, together with private property, in order to secure social harmony and individual happiness. In its stead they establish the community of wives and children [2] under the strict regulations that will be presently discussed.

(2) In other utopias the family is, on the contrary, the palladium of the social structure, and consequently its formation and conduct are subject to prescribed rules of social order. Various motives account for this attitude, such as the recognition of the general necessity for a home on the part of man and for individual attention in the case of children, preventing ill-con-

[1] See pp. 7 ff.

[2] "Should they [the guardians of the state] ever acquire homes or lands or moneys of their own, they will become housekeepers and husbandmen instead of guardians, enemies and tyrants instead of allies of the other citizens; hating and being hated, plotting and being plotted against, they will pass their whole life in much greater terror of internal than of external enemies, and the hour of ruin, both to themselves and to the rest of the State, will be at hand." Plato, *The Republic*, Book III, p. 106. "The wives of our guardians are to be common, and their children are to be common, and no parent is to know his own child, nor any child his parent." *Ibid.*, Book V, p. 150.

See also *ibid.*, p. 159, and Campanella, *The City of the Sun*, p. 225.

sidered and otherwise undesirable unions, and securing healthy and well-trained offspring.

(3) Still other ideal societies allow more or less freedom in the formation and stability of the home. Bellamy's society of the year 2000 relies on the principle of sexual selection with its tendency to preserve and transmit the better types of the race and to let the inferior types drop out.[3] Hertzka in his *Freeland* is satisfied for the conclusion of a marriage contract with a reciprocal declaration by two lovers that they wish to become husband and wife.[4] Fourier's solution allows the greatest latitude in the matter of the relations between the sexes; in this respect no plan offered before his time can stand comparison with his. Here at one end is permanent marriage and at the other end free love. The individual is allowed unrestricted choice,[5] and in either case the influence of the home is reduced to a minimum.[6]

REGULATION OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SEXES

Community of Wives and Children.—As already stated, Plato and Campanella would do away with the family and establish the community of wives and children. Plato, who regards this measure as the greatest good to the commonwealth, would have the state assume complete control of the marriage relation. As Jowett points out,[7] his plan is the reverse of licentious and seems rather to aim at an impossible strictness. The Greek idealist first notes that the greatest care is taken in the mating of animals for breeding purposes, and that the same principle must apply to the human species.[8] For this purpose he institutes holy marriage festivals, and by an ingenious system of lots the better men are paired with the better women, and the less worthy with their equals. The offspring of the former are then reared in public nurseries, and care is taken that no mother recognizes her own child; but the children of the inferior parents, and also those of the better if deformed, are put away in some unknown place.[9] Parents will be in the prime of life, which for a man, according to Plato, is from twenty-five years of age to fifty-five,

[3] *Looking Backward*, p. 267 f.
[4] *Freeland*, p. 304.
[5] *Oeuvres Complètes*, I, pp. 78 and 110.
[6] *Ibid.*, IV, p. 539.
[7] Jowett, Introduction to Plato's *Republic*, p. clxxxi.
[8] Plato, *The Republic*, Book V, p. 152.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 153 f.

and for a woman from twenty to forty.[10] It is a criminal act for any one above or below those ages to partake in the hymeneal festivals and for any one within the prescribed age to form a marriage connection with any woman in the prime of life without the consent of the rulers.[11] Thus is applied the law of community of wives and children proposed by Plato, "that the wives of our guardians are to be common, and their children are to be common, and no parent is to know his own child, nor any child his parent." [12]

Campanella, whose ideas of social unity are similar to those of Plato, does not go into details as to the operation of his scheme of community of women. He dismisses the matter with the simple statement that one of the ministers of state "is foremost in attending to the charge of the race. He sees that men and women are so joined together, that they bring forth the best offspring." [13]

Marriage Regulations and Customs.—Marriage being generally considered as one of the most important relationships of life in all other utopias, it is subject to carefully prescribed regulations that deal mainly with qualifications of the contracting parties, prevention of hasty marriages, and promotion of the quality of the race.

Minimum age limits are usually fixed, the youngest age for men being twenty,[14] while for girls the most common minimum age is eighteen.[15]

In some cases a certain degree of previous acquaintance is required before a marriage can take place. In the New Atlantis none can marry until a month is past from the first interview.[16] A stricter rule is applied in Icaria: here the young man and woman visit each other for at least six months before being permitted to marry.[17] Harder and more protracted tests are imposed in Altruria. The young Altrurian couple must have been in love for a year before they ask for permission to be married, an application which they must make twice again after a certain interval of time. Moreover, they must have been parted

[10] Plato, *The Republic*, Book V, pp. 154 f.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[13] *The City of the Sun*, p. 224.
[14] See Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 139.
[15] More, *Utopia*, p. 131; Andreæ, *Christianopolis*, p. 258; Cabet, *loc. cit.*
[16] Bacon, *The New Atlantis*, p. 199.
[17] Cabet, *loc. cit.*

every third month and have lived in different sections of the country where it was meant that they should meet many other young people.[18] Last but not least, Modern Utopia also provides for full deliberation on the part of the parties to a projected marriage. Here, too, it is recognized that "as a matter of justice, there must be no deception between the two people, and the State will ensure that in certain broad essentials this is so. They would have to communicate their joint intention to a public office after their personal licenses were granted, and each would be supplied with a copy of the index card of the projected mate, on which would be recorded his or her age, previous marriages, legally important diseases, offspring, domiciles, public appointments, criminal convictions, registered assignments of property, and so forth." [19]

However, age and previous acquaintance do not suffice to make successful marriages. Physical and mental health is another essential element of a happy married life which receives recognition in Utopia. Good physique and mutual knowledge of their physical endowments on the part of a young man and a young woman contemplating marriage are first emphasized by two curious suggestions advanced by Sir Thomas More and Lord Bacon in their respective utopias. "Before marriage [in Utopia] some grave matron presents the bride naked, whether she is a virgin or a widow, to the bridegroom; and after that some grave man presents the bridegroom naked to the bride." This provision aims at preventing trouble after the marriage has been consummated if either party shows any physical defect or affliction.[20]

A similar procedure is followed in the New Atlantis. Here "they think it a scorn to give a refusal after so familiar knowledge [as the Utopian method makes possible]; but because of many hidden defects in men and women's bodies, they have a more civil way; for they have near every town a couple of pools (which they call Adam and Eve's pools) where it is permitted to one of the friends of the man, and another of the friends of the woman, to see them severally bathe naked." [21]

Thus did More and Bacon follow in the footsteps of Plato in advocating measures of race hygiene, and their example has

[18] Howells, *Through the Eye of the Needle*, pp. 173 f.
[19] Wells, *A Modern Utopia*, p. 190.
[20] More, *Utopia*, pp. 131 f.
[21] Bacon, *The New Atlantis*, pp. 199 f.

been followed by their successors. Icaria, for instance, has a Committee on the Improvement of Mankind, a duty of which is to prevent the marriage of people whose offspring will presumably be a liability to the parent and the community.[22] Limanora maintains a Council of Elders to decide as to the matings and parenthoods of the community; for they feel that in this lies the guidance of their destiny.[23] In Kirwan's Reciprocity every candidate for matrimony must undergo an examination by physicians as to his or her physical, moral, and mental qualifications for the duties and responsibilities of the married state—the women by physicians of their own sex and the men by male physicians.[24] Modern Utopia, likewise, demands a certain minimum of physical development and freedom from any transmissible disease.[25]

Finally, in order to increase the probability of success in married life two utopias resort to the hortatory method, or rather to a veritable prenuptial course on matrimony. In one as soon as marriage is contemplated the young man or woman is taught all the duties that it imposes, fathers and mothers as a rule being entrusted with this teaching and aided in it by books and by the priests and priestesses.[26] In the other they are also instructed about those duties, and in addition at each successive visit to the authorities (this is in Altruria, where, as already observed, three such visits at stated intervals are required) they are warned, separately and together, against the danger of trusting to anything like a romantic impulse.[27]

Other utopias dispense with most of the aforesaid requirements. No exhortations, no period of previous acquaintance, no physical nor mental qualifications are to stand in the way of the prospective husband and wife. Freedom of action in marriage—this is, as indicated above, the attitude of Fourier, Bellamy, and Hertzka. Long before, Harrington was satisfied by converting the marriage ceremony into a simple civil rite,[28] and since their time Anatole France has sketched a future society when "in reality neither the man nor the woman takes any binding engagement. Yet it is not of rare occurrence that

[22] Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 122.
[23] Sweven, *Limanora*, p. 563.
[24] *Reciprocity in the Thirtieth Century*, p. 98.
[25] Wells, *A Modern Utopia*, pp. 182 f. and 189.
[26] Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 140.
[27] Howells, *Through the Eye of the Needle*, pp. 173 f.
[28] *Oceana*, pp. 107 f.

their union endures as long as life. Neither of them would wish to be the object of a fidelity secured by means of an oath, instead of by physical and moral expediency." [29]

A unique arrangement is presented in Bulwer Lytton's *The Coming Race*.[30] These imaginary people bind themselves in wedlock for three years only and at the end of this period either the man or the woman can divorce the other and is free to marry again. At the end of ten years the man has the privilege of taking a second wife, allowing the first to retire if she so desires. It happens, however, that these regulations are for the most part dead letter; divorces and polygamy are extremely rare and the marriage state seems singularly happy. This is accounted for on the ground that the women are forced into gentle manners by dread of separation or of the husband's taking a second wife; while on the part of the men the force of custom and the danger of novelty lead them to prefer the *status quo*.

Financial independence, which is or should be a very important consideration in the matter of matrimony, is usually left out of the reckoning in the utopias. The idealists who have built these imaginary states have so ordained things that economic troubles are seldom, if ever, supposed to be an obstruction in the road to marriage. Only H. G. Wells, whose *Modern Utopia* never loses sight of the realities of the world, includes among the qualifications for parenthood that the individual must be above a certain minimum of personal efficiency, shown by holding a position of solvency and independence.[31]

Not even the bachelors escape the searching eyes of the utopians as these would-be reformers draw up the laws of their ideal commonwealths. Harrington taxes the bachelors and denies them the right to hold a public office,[32] and Cabet brands voluntary celibacy as an act of ingratitude to the Republic and as a suspicious state.[33]

Family Regulations and Customs.—The complement of the preceding marriage regulations consists of the rules and practices whereby the family is bound together in utopias. An examination of the utopias also reveals a wide variety of procedure.

[29] *The White Stone*, p. 224.
[30] *The Coming Race*, p. 57.
[31] *A Modern Utopia*, p. 82.
[32] *Oceana*, pp. 109 f.
[33] *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 141.

Factors at once material and psychical insure the stability and solidarity of the Utopian family in the cases where this institution is the foundational unit of the social structure. Those factors are first given consideration in the rules governing marriage; for, undoubtedly, such things as the age of the bride and bridegroom, their previous knowledge of each other, their physical and mental endowments, their understanding of the duties of married life, and their economic status, are potent influences in determining the career of the new home. But to these initial influences there must be added new ones that will also contribute to the success of the home. What these new influences are in various utopias will be indicated in the discussion which follows.

First, *the size of the family.* Herein is found a striking difference between early and recent utopias, another instance of the fact that the utopians are influenced by contemporary knowledge and by contemporary conditions of social life. A form of the patriarchate appears in More's *Utopia* and in Bacon's *New Atlantis.* In the former "families are made up of those that are nearly related to one another. Their women, when they grow up, are married out; but all the males, both children and grandchildren, live still in the same house, in great obedience to their common parent, unless age has weakened his understanding; and in that case, he that is next to him comes in his room." [34] No family may have less than ten nor more than sixteen persons; but there can be no determined number for the children under age.[35] In *The New Atlantis* the importance attributed to large families is shown by minutely prescribed ceremonies, the principal one being the Feast of the Family, given in honor of any man who has at least thirty living descendants above three years of age.[36] In Andreæ's *Christianopolis,* again, the large size of the family is shown by the fact that the parents keep at home two or three children, with four as the limit, but the older ones are being brought up elsewhere.[37] It is only in recent utopias that a family has only two or three children, with four as the

[34] More, *Utopia,* pp. 101 f.
[35] *Ibid.,* p. 102.
[36] Bacon, *The New Atlantis,* pp. 192 ff.
[37] *Christianopolis,* p. 160. See also Vayrasse, *L'Histoire des Sevarambes,* p. 285, and Berington, *Mémoires de Gaudence de Luques,* p. 202.

maximum,[38] and it is only in them, too, that birth control is for the first time advocated.[39]

Second, *the means of support of the family.* Because of the usual communistic or socialistic character of the Utopian economy, all families are theoretically guaranteed their subsistence on a basis of equality, provided that their able-bodied members contribute their due share to the work of the community. However, among some of the latest utopias a new rule has made its appearance; namely, the principle of the endowment of the family. This principle implies, on one side, the rejection of communism, and, on the other side, recognition of the fact that parentage is not merely a private matter, but that it deeply concerns the community.

The earliest and most comprehensive scheme of state endowment in utopias is found in Hertzka's *Freeland.* This scheme includes not only the family, but also unmarried women, old men, and those unfit to work.[40] Tarbouriech and Wells follow Hertzka in endowing the family. Tarbouriech makes the community responsible for the support of children and believes that in spite of this arrangement natality will tend to decrease; for the progress of civilization tends to decrease fecundity, and the economic factor is also operative. A great increase in births would have its effect on the budget and the working people would be required to consume less or to work more.[41]

H. G. Wells sets forth his earliest argument for what he has so aptly called "the endowment of motherhood"[42] in his *Modern Utopia.*[43] In short, says Wells, "Utopia will hold that sound childbearing and rearing is a service done, not to a particular man, but to the whole community, and all its legal arrangements for motherhood will be based on that conception.[44]

Third, *the respective position of husband and wife in the home.* More and Bacon, it will be remembered, favor the patriarchal family for their ideal states, from which it naturally follows that the father is granted undivided authority at the head

[38] Howells, *Through the Eye of the Needle,* p. 160; Kirwan, *Reciprocity in the Thirtieth Century,* pp. 187 f.

[39] Tarbouriech, *La Cité Future,* p. 301; Kirwan, *loc. cit.;* Wells, *A Modern Utopia,* pp. 180 f.

[40] For a discussion of this scheme see pp. 183 ff.

[41] *La Cité Future,* p. 300 f.

[42] See his *New Machiavelli,* pp. 380 ff. (Duffield and Co., 1910).

[43] *A Modern Utopia,* pp. 185 ff.

[44] *Ibid.,* p. 188. See also *New Worlds for Old,* pp. 53 and 124.

of the family, the wife—in fact, all the members of the family—being completely subordinated to him.[45] However, this subordinate status of the woman is exceptional in utopias.[46] She holds, as a rule, an exalted position in the utopian home, More and Bacon's example having been followed by only a negligible number of utopians.[47] Among the early utopians Andreæ is the first noted for his liberal attitude towards woman. He assigns the ordinary duties of the home to the husband and wife together.[48] But not until the nineteenth century do we find utopias which, while retaining the home, and not destroying it as Plato and Campanella do, at the same time grant, or are inclined to grant, to men and women the same civil and political privileges.[49] Bellamy, [50] Hertzka, [51] and Blatchford [52] lay special emphasis on the economic independence of wife from husband as a main factor making for the success of married life.

Fourth, *miscellaneous psychical influences.* Two of the latest utopias foster, in part at least, the sentiment of loyalty to the home through means that are of a purely psychical character and that seem to be reactions to the changing status of the modern family. Howells' *Altruria* promotes the secular attachment of a family to one spot [53] and Morris' "new" England combines mutual liking and affection with individual freedom in order to weld the family together.[54]

[45] "Wives serve their husbands" and "husbands have power to correct their wives"—these are two dictums of More's. *Utopia*, pp. 103 and 133. Bacon in his description of the Feast of the Family (*The New Atlantis*, pp. 192 ff.) indicates some of the powers vested in the Tirsan or father of a family. He is the family censor, counselor, judge, and sole representative, and in the performance of his functions has the unqualified backing of the country's government.

[46] Plato and Campanella consider woman as the equal of man except for natural differences in physical constitution. Since these two utopians abolish the home, their utopias are not included in the present discussion.

[47] For example, by Berington and Mercier. In the country imagined by Berington the father of each family governs all his descendants married or unmarried. (*Mémoires de Gaudence de Lugues*, p. 202.) In Mercier's ideal society of the future, women depend entirely on their husbands and have no other distinction than that which their husbands reflect on them. *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*, II, pp. 84 f.

[48] *Christianopolis*, p. 160.

[49] Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 299; Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, pp. 253 f.; Saunders, *Kalomera*, p. 26; Wells, *A Modern Utopia*, pp. 197 f.; *New Worlds for Old*, p. 130; Kirwan, *Reciprocity in the Thirtieth Century*, p. 68.

[50] *Looking Backward*, pp. 262 f.

[51] As shown by his scheme of endowments. See also *Freeland*, pp. 136 f.

[52] *The Sorcery Shop*, pp. 46 f.

[53] *A Traveller from Altruria*, p. 221.

[54] *News from Nowhere*, p. 112 f.

EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONS OF THE UTOPIAN HOME

It may be surmised from the preceding marriage and family regulations that the home has definite educational functions in most of the Utopian countries. Further study of the Utopian home clearly shows its importance as an agency of education.

(1) The marriage and family regulations point to the fact that as a rule Utopian parents are fit for the duties and responsibilities of parenthood. This estate is conditioned by definite qualifications of age, physical and mental health, and economic solvency. With these qualifications met, parents are duly equipped for the government of their families.

However, *in the apportionment of educational functions to the home widely different practices prevail.* Fourier and Blatchford represent extreme attitudes, the former by depriving the home of all educational influence and the latter by relying almost solely on the home in the matter of education. Fourier claims that the influence of the parents can only retard and pervert the children, that the parents endeavor to transmit their own inclinations to the children regardless of the latter's native tendencies,[55] and that nature wishes the collective education of infants for their own good as well as for their parents' tranquillity.[56] Blatchford abolishes the school and, to use his own words, goes back to *mother.* The mother is to him "politics, religion, drill-sergeant, elementary school, and many much better things all rolled into one," . . . "because there is no wisdom as deep as love." [57] The mother is even supposed to discover the individual aptitudes of each child.[58]

Most of the utopians would have the home share with other agencies the task of educating the young. For instance, Grivel entrusts to the parents the education of their children up to the age of six and Morelly and Cabet up to five. More recently Wells reverses the process. The children of his *Men Like Gods* are in their infancy brought up upon large educational estates given wholly to their lives, the parents being allowed to be near and to see their children. The care of children until they reach the age of nine or ten, is largely entrusted to nurses and teachers; but

[55] *Oeuvres Complètes,* V, p. 31.
[56] *Ibid.,* p. 63.
[57] *The Sorcery Shop,* p. 57.
[58] *Ibid.,* p. 62.

after this age the parents' influence over their children increases. "Just when earthly parents tended to separate from their children as they went away to school or went into business, Utopian parentage grew to be somewhat closer. There was the idea in Utopia that between parent and child there was a necessary temperamental sympathy. Children looked forward to the friendship and company of their parents, and parents looked forward to the interest of their children's adolescence, and though a parent had practically no power over a son or a daughter, he or she took naturally the position of advocate, adviser and sympathetic friend. Friendship was all the franker and closer because of that lack of power, and all the easier because age for age the Utopians were so much younger and fresher-minded than the Earthlings."[59]

In Sweven's *Limanora* the home is the most important agency of education. "Though so much care was spent on the choice of stock, they [the Limanorans] considered it far more important to have the citizens of the future properly trained, and were quite unbending in their insistence that every child should have the most suitable natures in the community to educate it, whether this should be its own parents or pro-parents. . . . The greatest talents that ever appeared on earth could not be better spent than on the parental profession."[60] The family was adopted as the unit in the state, "for in the family there would be shelter for any new individual talent, and heredity would cherish and increase it as it handed it on."[61]

(2) *The home includes among its purposes not merely the propagation, but also the improvement of the race.* This is shown by the regulations already discussed concerning the age, the physical and mental condition, and the previous acquaintance of the contracting parties and by the proposals put forward for the endowment of the family.

(3) *The home contributes to the moral growth of its members.* As is also the case with the home in our world, it lays the foundations of the individual's character through early and permanent impressions. It teaches self-restraint, obedience, and service, and each member recognizes duties to be fulfilled and rights to be enjoyed. This is well illustrated by More's *Utopia* and Bacon's

[59] *Men Like Gods*, pp. 269 f.
[60] *Limanora*, pp. 586 f.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 562.

New Atlantis.[62] The home coöperates with the church in teaching religion in various utopias; namely, Gott's *Nova Solyma*,[63] Mercier's *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*,[64] and Mantegazza's *L'Anno 3000*.[65] The fact that strict requirements must be met before an individual is allowed to set up his own home is in itself an incentive to the formation of a high moral character.

(4) *The home gives vocational training and is a producer of wealth in several utopias.* In this respect the family in some of the early utopias is much like the earthly family before the Industrial Revolution, when domestic industry prevailed. More tells us that in Utopia "every family makes their own clothes" and that "the same trade generally passes down from father to son, inclinations often following descent; but if any man's genius lies another way, he is by adoption translated into a family that deals in the trade to which he is inclined."[66] Curiously enough, great emphasis is placed on domestic industry in two of the latest utopias; namely, Chambless's *Roadtown* and Richmond's *Democracy—False or True?* In the former the home work of the child's parents is a great feature of education. "In workroom and garden the child will learn what the world is for," and he will also learn the occupations of his parents and probably those of his nearest relatives and neighbors.[67] In Richmond's utopia each house is a little center of industry, and great pleasure is derived from making all household implements at home and from producing many other articles needed by the family.[68] These two utopias represent a reaction against the modern tendency to neglect at home the creative impulses latent in the members of the family and to postpone until adolescence or even later all vocational training. As regards the latter point, Chambless expresses himself as follows: "The present system of keeping a child from all work until his body and mind are formed and then plunging him into industrial life is only exceeded in folly and cruelty by the child slavery system known as 'child

[62] See p. 40.
[63] Vol. I, p. 104.
[64] Vol. II, pp. 119 ff.
[65] P. 171.
[66] More, *Utopia*, p. 97.
[67] P. 129 f.
[68] *Op. cit.*, pp. 97 f., 103, and 111.

labor.' 'All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy,' but all school and play and no work makes Jack a jackass." [69]

(5) *The home is used as a means of civic training.* As in our world, the home in Utopia is a miniature society and trains for membership in the larger social order. Loyalty and love, obedience and tolerance, industry and coöperation, self-reliance and adaptability,—these are some of the virtues of the good citizen the foundations of which are laid in the Utopian home.

CONCLUSION

The utopians disagree as to the place that the home should occupy in the social organization, and therefore as to the measures that should be adopted for the care and education of children. Plato and Campanella are in favor of the community of wives and children. Fourier allows a wide range of choice in the matter of the relations between the sexes; but in any case he minimizes the influence of the home on its members. All other utopians retain the home; but they differ in the regulations proposed for its formation and government. The utopians' common point of agreement as regards the home is a highly important one; namely, the emphasis placed on the necessity of sound, capable parenthood as an indispensable condition of the Utopian social order.

As can be expected, the educational functions assigned to the home in utopias are far from being uniform; but most of them have to do with the improvement of the race, and with the physical, moral, civic, and vocational education of the members of the family.

[69] *Roadtown*, p. 130.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH AS AN EDUCATIONAL AGENCY

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The church ranks high in our world among the agencies of education. It teaches and propagates religious and moral ideas in society, and partly for this purpose it has formulated its doctrines and rituals, established its places of worship and its schools, and created its orders and hierarchies. It has exercised a tremendous influence upon the work and development of other institutions that share with it the work of education, such as the home, the school, and the state. As Leach points out, "the Church is the mother of medieval and so of modern education throughout the Western World."[1] With the modern tendency towards the secularization of public education, the church has lost much of the power that it once wielded in the field of education; but it still endeavors to provide religious instruction through agencies of its own, and does so in the belief that such instruction is necessary to a complete education.

Turning now to the world of utopias, we find that only three utopians—More, Andreæ, and Gott—have given a commanding position to the church in their ideal commonwealths. More entrusts to it the education of youth and the supervision of the manners of the people.[2] Still ampler functions for the church seem to be Andreæ's ideal; for he states that all matters of importance center around the church and that to it are due "all tongues, all history, all reasoning, all signs of nature, all arts of heaven; then finally one might expect the gift of blessed eternity."[3] Finally, Gott asserts the supremacy of religion in all duties of life[4] and sets it up as the cornerstone of his ideal social order.[5]

[1] In Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*, Vol. II, p. 3.
[2] *Utopia*, p. 156.
[3] *Christianopolis*, p. 187.
[4] *Nova Solyma*, I, p. 225.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

More, Andreæ, and Gott, it may be noted, are three pioneers in the world of utopias. They lived at a time—the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—when the influence of the church in education was at its maximum. With the Reformation the church was stimulated to its greatest activity in education, and during the period of that great upheaval veritable systems of elementary schools were established in Protestant countries under the auspices of the church. This contemporary preponderance of the church in matters of education was not denied to it by the social thinkers in question when they drew up their ideal schemes.

Such is not the case with their successors. While some of these have recognized the power of the church in our world, they have not given it a corresponding place in their utopias, and have apportioned among other social institutions most of the functions that our church has exercised. Two reasons may account for this condition. First, religion, whereof the church is the organized embodiment, acts in our world as an agency of social control; but in utopias, where ideal conditions are supposed to prevail, the restraining influence of the church is less necessary. Second, the trials and vicissitudes of earthly life often require the confidence and consolation given by religion; whereas in utopias such difficulties have been eliminated through a superior social, economic, and political organization, as a result of which religion has lost one of its main sources of strength.

With these considerations in mind, let us proceed to an account of the educational functions of the church in utopias. This subject may be conveniently divided into three parts; namely, the relations between the church and the community in matters of education, religious services as a factor in education, and the church as a teaching institution.

EDUCATIONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE COMMUNITY

A frequently recurring theme in utopias is that the church must be an agency for the promotion of social solidarity and that by no means should it be allowed to be the cause of strife between men. This liberal attitude of the utopians in matters of religion is best shown by their reiterated advocacy of religious tolerance. As Hertzler points out,[6] "Early Modern Utopians, especially

[6] *The History of Utopian Thought*, p. 290. See also More, *Utopia*, pp. 148 ff. and Harrington, *Oceana*, p. 89.

More and Harrington, in a time of religious absolutism and enforced uniformity, dared to advocate the toleration of all religious views, not manifestly antisocial." Vayrasse, a French contemporary of Harrington, permits only one external cult; but he allows religious freedom to the dissenters of that cult, and in the distribution of offices and honors he disregards the religious ideas of the candidates, and only considers their moral worth.[7] The nineteenth and twentieth century utopians are unanimously in favor of liberty of religious faith.[8] With them, particularly with the Utopian Socialists, comes into full prominence the ideal of a social religion, of a religion that minimizes dogma and ceremony, and that aims at the full development of man, at the attitude of service towards one's fellows, and at human progress and happiness.

This ideal of a social religion is first broached by Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia*. He describes a class of men "that upon a matter of religion neglect learning, and apply themselves to no sort of study; nor do they allow themselves any leisure time, but are perpetually employed, believing that by the good things that a man does he secures to himself that happiness that comes after death." [9] It is evident that this conception of More is narrow in that it involves the element of self-denial in this world to be compensated for by happiness in another. It is not until three centuries later, with the appearance of the Utopian Socialists of the nineteenth century, that the conception of a social religion receives its clearest delineation.

What are the bearings of the ideal of a social religion advocated by the Utopian Socialists? The clue to this question is found in the religious views of three leaders of this group of utopians; namely, Owen Saint Simon, and Cabet.

For Owen, "the primary and necessary object of all existence is to be happy," a condition that must belong to all and be brought about by all.[10] In the ideal society, then, "to produce happiness will be the only religion of man; the worship of God will consist in the practice of useful industry; in the acquisition of knowledge; in uniformly speaking the language of truth; and in the

[7] *L'Histoire des Severambes*, pp. 378 ff.

[8] See, for example, Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, pp. 169 ff.; Hertzka, *Freeland*, pp. 140 f.; Howells, *A Traveller from Altruria*, p. 231; Wells, *A Modern Utopia*, pp. 288 f.

[9] *Utopia*, p. 154.

[10] *Book of the New Moral World*, Part IV, p. 54, cited by Hertzler, *The History of Utopian Thought*, p. 215.

expression of the joyous feelings which a life in accordance with nature and truth is sure to produce." [11] True religion will consist in "daily undeviating practice in thought, word, and action of charity, benevolence, and kindness to every human being."[12]

According to Saint Simon, "in the New Christianity all morality will be directly derived from this principle: 'Men ought to regard each other as brothers.'" From this it will follow that "religion must direct society towards the great end of the most rapid improvement possible of the lot of the poor."[13] In fact, Saint Simon goes on to say that "all the so-called religions which are professed to-day are only heresies; that is, they do not tend directly toward the most rapid improvement possible of the welfare of the poorest class, which is the only end of Christianity."[14]

Cabet has one of his characters state that the Icarians engage in religious worship privately at home and publicly in their temples; but that they think that "justice, fraternity, and the consequent love of country and mankind and submission to the general will are the worship most agreeable to the Divinity. We consider that he who knows how best to worship and to please the Divinity is he who knows how to be the best father, the best son, the best citizen." [15]

From the views just sketched it is evident that the Utopian Socialists repudiate the dogmatized religions which they see around them,—religions, according to these idealists, that tend to become a matter of form and ceremony, that induce and tolerate nominal allegiances, and that fail to function in the everyday lives of their pretended followers. The utopians advocate instead a social religion which lays down as its cardinal principles the elements of brotherhood and service, of love and charity, and of self-reliance and happiness, and which finds its supreme expression in deeds intended to improve the condition of one's fellows.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES AS A FACTOR IN EDUCATION

The use of the church as an instrumentality for the promotion of social solidarity, as a means to weld together all classes and conditions of people, is best shown by the types of religious serv-

[11] *Book of the New Moral World*, Part II, p. 33, cited by Hertzler, *loc. cit.*
[12] Cited by Hertzler, *op. cit.*, p. 216.
[13] *Oeuvres*, VII, pp. 116 f.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 118.
[15] *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 171.

ices proposed in various utopias. Here again Sir Thomas More leads with an account that stamps him as perhaps the earliest advocate of "union services," that is, of church services wherein all religions and sects can participate without doing violence to their particular tenets.[16] Furthermore, special public exercises are held for purposes of thanksgiving and imploration of Divine assistance in their enterprises, these exercises being preceded by private ones at home which aim at the removal of family dissension and discontent and at the purification of their minds.[17]

The idea of religious services that disregard sectarian differences and unite all religious factions in a common worship has been echoed after More by other utopian thinkers. For instance, in Mercier's picture of the society of the future it is presumed that the worship will not cause any disorder or discussion, and that ministers of religion will be few, wise, friendly to toleration, and free from the spirit of faction.[18] In Cabet's utopia religious worship is simplicity itself: "each admires, thanks, worships, and prays to the Divinity as it may please him, in the interior of his house"; but the people also have temples for religious instruction and common worship.[19] Bulwer-Lytton's Coming Race also unite in their worship of God; for they hold that the capacity of conceiving the idea of a Deity has been vouchsafed among living creatures to man only; that this capacity has not been bestowed upon him in vain; and hence that

[16] "Though there are many different forms of religion among them [the Utopians], yet all these, how various soever, agree in the main point, which is the worshipping the Divine Essence; and therefore there is nothing to be seen or heard in their temples in which the several persuasions among them may not agree; for every sect performs those rites that are peculiar to it, in their private houses, nor is there anything in the public worship that contradicts the particular ways of those different sects." *Utopia*, p. 159.

[17] "They [the Utopians] meet in their temples on the evening of the festival that concludes a season: and not having yet broke their fast, they thank God for their good success during that year or month, which is then at an end; and the next day being that which begins the new season, they meet early in their temples, to pray for the happy progress of all their affairs during that period upon which they enter. In the festival which concludes the period, before they go to the temple both wives and children fall on their knees before their husbands or parents and confess everything in which they have either erred or failed in their duty, and beg pardon for it. Thus all little discontents in families are removed, that they may offer up their devotions with a pure and serene mind; for they hold it a great impiety to enter upon them with disturbed thoughts, or with a consciousness of their bearing hatred or anger in their hearts to any person whatsoever; and think that they should become liable to severe punishments if they presumed to offer sacrifices without cleansing their hearts, and reconciling all their differences." *Ibid.*, pp. 159 f.

[18] *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*, I, p. 88.

[19] *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 171.

prayer and thanksgiving are acceptable to the Divine Creator and necessary to the complete development of man.[20] Finally, T. B. Russell predicts that in the future "the aspiration to conceive the Divine will take the shape of some kind of public worship probably much unlike anything which we now practice, and totally divorced from any faith in miracles and verbal inspiration." [21]

Shortness of religious services is emphasized by Mercier and Bulwer-Lytton as necessary for the attainment of the results desired. "Long offices," says Mercier, "produce inattention and disgust."[22] The religious services of Bulwer-Lytton's Coming Race are both private and public; but the latter are exceedingly short. "It is a doctrine with the Vrilya [23] that earnest devotion or complete abstraction from the actual world cannot, with benefit to itself, be maintained long at a stretch by the human mind, especially in public, and that all attempts to do either lead to fanaticism or to hypocrisy."[24]

A curious suggestion for the conduct of public religious services is put forward by Saunders. In his *Kalomera* these services are much like our own. There are organ music, songs, and prayer; but there the similarity ends. The sermon, which in our churches is usually given by the local minister as his original contribution to the service, is dispensed with by the Kalomeran congregation and in its stead is substituted an address on some moral subject written by some great teacher and usually read by somebody else.[25] Apparently Saunders is skeptical of the effectiveness of the preaching of obscure ministers.

One utopia at least—W. H. Hudson's *Crystal Age*—abolishes all religious services in the belief that they are futile, impertinent, and irrational. "He who freely gave us life and reason and all good gifts, needs not that we should remind him of anything." says Hudson; "therefore, to ask him to give us the thing we desire is to make him like ourselves, and charge him with an oversight."[26] "All our highest and sweetest feelings unite with reason to tell us with one voice that he loves us."[27]

[20] *The Coming Race,* p. 72.
[21] *A Hundred Years Hence,* pp. 191 f.
[22] *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante,* I, p. 96.
[23] The inhabitants of Bulwer-Lytton's utopia.
[24] *The Coming Race,* pp. 72 f.
[25] *Kalomera,* pp. 76 ff.
[26] *A Crystal Age,* pp. 271 f.
[27] *Ibid.,* p. 274.

THE CHURCH AS A TEACHING INSTITUTION

Little has been said by the utopians on the subject of religious education as compared with their extensive discussions of other aspects of the educative process. This is in part due to peculiarities of the utopian religious situation which have been referred to already; namely, (1) the decreased importance of the church as an institution of social control and as a source of comfort in the difficulties of life, and (2) the prevailing religious tolerance of the utopians, which renders early and constant indoctrination less necessary than in a society where belligerent sectarianism holds sway. Apparently most of the makers of utopias are confident that through the activities of the normal social life the individual will become a loyal member, if a member at all, of some religious sect.

As indicated above, Sir Thomas More stands out as a conspicuous exception in this matter; for he would entrust to the church, in accordance with the practice of his time, the education of children. It may be taken for granted that other utopians, particularly those of the seventeenth century, would have entrusted to the church at least the religious education of its members; but of the early modern utopians Andreæ only expresses himself on the subject, and does so incidentally, in a passage where he states that "there is no fear lest anyone grow up ignorant of the Christian religion, since this is required in the schools and is carefully attended to."[28]

Not until we reach the nineteenth century utopians do we find explicit statements showing that their authors recognize the church as an institution for direct religious instruction. In a passage that reveals its author's lack of sympathy with the church of his day, Owen says: "As one of the measures of preparation to new form the character of all British subjects, the priesthood of every denomination, in return for their support, should be required to teach in all churches, chapels, meeting-houses, synagogues, and all other places of worship, the necessity for all to acquire a knowledge of the pure and undefiled spirit of universal love and charity, and to apply it constantly in practice in everyday life, and the priests of each sect should especially exhibit this practice in all their doings, and should cease to torment humanity by their much-worse-than-useless

[28] *Christianopolis*, p. 257.

dogmas which no one understands."[29] Here Owen plainly shows his readiness to accept the church as a means for the regeneration of society; and, according to him, the church should teach love and charity through precept and example.

Another Utopian Socialist, Cabet, deprives the priests of all power, even the spiritual power, and allows them only the functions of preachers of morals, instructors of religion, advisers, and consolers.[30]

Saint Simon advocates the missionary spirit for conversion to his New Christianity: "the New Christians must develop the same character and follow the same course as the Christians of the primitive church; they must employ only the forces of their intelligence to have their doctrine adopted. Only by means of persuasion and demonstration ought they to work in the conversion of Catholics and Protestants."[31]

Last of all, Walter Rathenau asserts that religious teaching, in order to succeed in the new society, will have to follow the same methods as a new system of physical culture; that is, it will have to abide the law of competition, and proceed accordingly."[32]

A remarkable principle of religious education that may be deduced from the accounts of several utopians is to the effect that religious instruction should not be given to children, and allegiance to a religion should not be made until the individual is intellectually capable of a free and deliberate choice. Judging from their assertions, Owen, Cabet, Sweven, and Saunders would subscribe to this principle.

Owen is the first utopian to voice his opposition to early religious instruction, and he does so in vitriolic terms. He laments "the imbecility of mind which instruction from birth in any of the religions inflicts on all who are thereby made conscientious believers in any one of them," and goes on to say that "it is true that religions have been and to this day are the strongest causes of repulsive feelings between individuals and nations; and while any of these deranging systems of the human intellects shall be forced into the young mind by the insane contending sects over the world, the spirit of universal charity and love must remain unknown among all nations and peoples." [33]

[29] *Autobiography*, II, p. xxviii.
[30] *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 172.
[31] *Du Système Industriel*, VII, p. 178.
[32] *The New Society*, p. 65.
[33] *Autobiography*, I, pp. 101 f.

Cabet definitely forbids religious instruction to children. Neither parents nor strangers must influence the children in the matter of religion before the latter reach the age of sixteen or seventeen. When they arrive at this age they make for a year under professors of philosophy a survey of all religions. Then, and only then, does the individual adopt the religion that seems to him the best.[34]

Sweven goes farther than Cabet; for he postpones the matter of religious choice until late in life. For him such choice is the culminating step of the individual's education and should therefore be preceded by familiarity with the field of knowledge and by the formation of the individual's character.[35]

Ideas similar to Owen's and Cabet's are put forward by Saunders, who believes that the children are incapable of grasping the significance of religious doctrines and consequently that it is better to base all moral instruction, including the religious, on grounds which would appeal chiefly to reason and affection. Saunders' Utopians think that the best plan is to defer all regular religious instruction until the children have attained an age at which they may be expected to grasp the real significance of the more spiritual aspects of religion.[36]

CONCLUSION

While in our world the church has occupied and still occupies a prominent position in the field of education, this is the case in but a few utopias, such as More's *Utopia* and Andreæ's *Christianopolis,* which were conceived during the heyday of church influence in education. The modern tendency, as best exemplified by the Utopian Socialists, has been to relieve the church of educational responsibilities that are not its own peculiar province. In no utopia of modern times, for instance, has the church anything to do with the administration of public education or is it charged with the formal education of any people.

The main educational functions of the church in utopias are three, as follows: (1) promotion of social integration; (2) teaching of morality by precept and example; and (3) direct religious instruction.

The utopias tend to disregard dogma, ceremony, and secta-

[34] *Voyage en Icarie,* pp. 169 f.
[35] *Limanora,* p. 50.
[36] *Kalomera,* pp. 268 f.

rian differences and to place emphasis on the ideal of religious tolerance, on the necessity of a social religion, and on the practicability of "union services."

Finally, some of the modern utopian schemes forbid the teaching of religion to children, postponing it until the individual is endowed with the judgment necessary to exercise the right of self-determination as to his religion.

CHAPTER VI

THE SCHOOL IN UTOPIAS

Preceding sections of this study have set forth the utopians' criticism of the schools of their time[1] and the aims and principles that guide the educational work in the ideal commonwealths of the Utopian world.[2] The purpose of this chapter is to give as clear an idea as possible of the schools of Utopia through a discussion of the schemes of school organization and administration and of the school curricula laid down here and there in the descriptions of imaginary states.

A word or two of caution, however, may not be amiss here. In the first place, it should be borne in mind that in utopias formal and informal education are less differentiated, the line of demarcation between the two is vaguer than in our world, a fact already intimated in our discussion of the home and the church as educational agencies in utopias and clearly demonstrated in a subsequent chapter dealing with the community. Because of this situation the Utopian school is as a rule less important as a formative agency than the school in our world. In the second place, the Utopian school has often been so merged with the surrounding environment that in such cases it has partially lost its identity and is not easily isolated, for the purposes of observation, from the social fabric in which it is placed. In the third place, although formal education is a subject often discussed in utopias, its treatment in these works of imaginative literature is naturally informal and fragmentary. The only exception to this rule is found in *The Republic,* which embodies, as is well known, a systematic treatise on education in the scheme of an ideal state. Now, the circumstances just pointed out obviously preclude the presentation of a complete picture of the Utopian schools. It will only be possible to show the rough sketches left now and then by the utopians in their ideal schemes.

[1] See pp. 9 ff.
[2] See Chapter III.

SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

The earliest and one of the most remarkable plans of school organization in utopias is found in *The Republic.* As already shown,[3] this plan has definite objectives; but the highest of these objectives are to be attained only by the select few. To begin with, the artisan class is altogether excluded from the benefits of Plato's system of education. Only the children of the warriors and the rulers are given an extended education, and particularly the opportunity to reach the highest goals; namely, recognition as a superior individual, the life of the philosopher, and the government of the state.

The next definite plan of Utopian school organization appears in Harrington's *Oceana.* This plan is noteworthy in the history of education because as early as the seventeenth century it provides for free and compulsory education. Children enter the elementary school at the age of nine and continue in it until fifteen. Education is free for children whose parents cannot afford to pay for it. At fifteen the child is made an apprentice to some trade or enters a law school or university. In the latter case he does not stay in school beyond the age of eighteen unless he is fitting himself for some profession, the object being to prevent a person from occupying himself with aimless study.[4]

Harrington's plan was extremely liberal for the time when it was put forward, education being then generally considered as a privilege of the well-to-do from which the children of the masses were excluded. But it obviously falls short from the realities of the present day, when in the most advanced countries elementary education is entirely free, and secondary education is within the reach of at least large numbers of intellectually superior children.

A century after Harrington a pioneer of socialism, the Abbé Morelly, was satisfied with universal elementary education from the fifth to the tenth year.[5] Beginning at the age of ten, while the children were to receive instruction in the sciences, they were at the same time to be taught the various trades in public workshops.[6]

In glaring contrast with Plato's, Harrington's, and Morelly's

[3] See p. 27.
[4] *Oceana,* p. 173.
[5] *Code de la Nature,* pp. 102 f.
[6] *Ibid.,* p. 103.

moderate proposals there stand out the educational programs of Bellamy and Wells, the former laid down at the end of the nineteenth and the latter at the beginning of the twentieth century. These two utopians give the most liberal interpretation to the principle of equality of opportunity.[7] Bellamy adds six grades to the common school system that had been founded before the arrival of the utopian social order and thus he provides higher education for all. Wells in his *Modern Utopia*[8] proposes the conclusion of elementary education at about fourteen. A small number of children—about three per cent—are then set aside as unteachable, while the rest continue their studies in a free college or upper school. The college course is completed at eighteen. Several different college courses are offered, and only about ten per cent of the students fail in these higher studies.

With their liberal proposals both Bellamy and Wells clearly exemplify the spirit of their epoch. They reflect the democratic advance of modern times in their plans for the popularization of higher education. Furthermore, those plans mark a reaction to the complexities of the present social organization, which are propably due to the Industrial Revolution to a greater extent than to any other single factor. The thinkers in question realize the absolute necessity of an extended and thorough education for the bulk of the citizens in order to find a way out of the labyrinth into which mankind has wandered in recent times.

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION AND SUPERVISION

As previously stated,[9] formal education in utopias is, as a rule, entrusted to public officials. The school being the chief agency of that type of education, its control is generally under officials who act as representatives or trustees of the community.

The reasons for this arrangement are clear. In the first place, not a few of the makers of utopias claim that most parents are incompetent to bring up their children properly.[10] Again, the state-controlled school has been conceived as a means of social integration, as a disseminator of common principles that will bind society together.[11] Finally, it has been thought that state control will improve the quality of the finished product of the

[7] See pp. 23 ff.
[8] *A Modern Utopia*, p. 271.
[9] See p. 25.
[10] See pp. 8 ff.
[11] For example, Saint Simon, *Du Système Industriel*, Vol. VI, pp. 238 f.

schools, particularly on the professional level. It would free the schools from the necessity of seeking the patronage of pupils for support and it would do away with the practice of granting diplomas to unfit persons who can afford the cost of an expensive course of instruction, a practice that is possible when the student has to defray the cost of his studies.[12]

The most radical schemes of state-controlled education are found in Plato's *Republic* and Campanella's *City of the Sun.* With the home abolished in these utopias, the community has a complete monopoly of formal education. In the former the philosophers who rule the state [13] and in the latter magistrates selected for the purpose [14] are charged with the superintendence of formal education.

State control of the schools is also the most prominent feature of school administration in other utopias. The schemes propounded, although not so thoroughgoing as Plato's and Campanella's, show radical departures from the standards prevailing at the time when their authors lived. Most remarkable of all is the proposal that the community should assume complete control over the rearing and education of all children for a certain period of their lives, the parents meanwhile surrendering to the state their parental authority.[15] Generally the home is allowed full control of the child during infancy, after which the community through its educational establishment is entrusted with the education of the child's training.[16]

The creation of a central department of education in the national government has been advocated either expressly or by implication by some utopians. Campanella was probably the first among these social thinkers to realize the need of such a central agency; but his scheme of educational administration is lacking in definiteness. The head of the state in his *City of the Sun* is assisted by three magistrates of equal authority, called Power, Wisdom, and Love. To Wisdom is entrusted among other things "the discipline of the schools," [17] while Love has

[12] Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, p. 72.

[13] They have complete control of the government of the state, which includes, of course, the direction of public education. See *The Republic*, VII, pp. 244 f.

[14] *The City of the Sun*, p. 236.

[15] Andreæ, *Christianopolis*, p. 208; Vayrasse, *L'Histoire des Sevarambes*, p. 278; Morelly, *Code de la Nature*, p. 102; Wells, *Men Like Gods*, pp. 269 f.

[16] H. G. Wells provides an exception to this arrangement by placing the children under communal control during infancy and increasing the home influence thereafter. See pp. 43 f.

[17] *City of the Sun*, p. 221.

under his rule "the education of children." [18] In spite of its ambiguity this statement of functions clearly reveals the danger of overlapping of authority and conflicts of power in the case of two ministers of coördinate rank. Campanella's detailed account of the work of the ministers in question further reveals this danger.

Grivel in his *Isle Inconnue*—a utopia of the eighteenth century—left an early and definite suggestion for a national department of education. His proposed national constitution provides for various departments, the first of them to be in charge of the supervision of public and private education.[19]

The establishment of such a central department of education would presumably have been approved also by Robert Owen as a corollary of his advocacy of a national system of education.[20]

In less extreme ways government control of the schools is provided for by various utopians. Harrington proposes compulsory free schools under government inspection, leaving the education of only sons to the discretion of parents and giving all parents the liberty of choosing the schools to which they will send their children. Education was to be provided gratis for those who could not afford to pay for it.[21] Moderate as this proposal may appear to modern eyes, it was extremely liberal at the time when put forward, nearly three centuries ago.

Saint Simon, enunciating his utopian theories about a century ago, would vest a central board of scientists and scholars, called the Institute, with the supervision of all public instruction. The idea of social solidarity was uppermost in Saint Simon's mind, and he would therefore establish such a uniformity of instruction whereby a common body of principles and knowledge would be given to all citizens. A national catechism was to be promulgated, and no Frenchman was to be allowed the exercise of his civic rights until after having taken an examination on the catechism.[22]

Finally, Tarbouriech, planning his utopia in the early days of the present century, claims for the state the absolute right, not curtailed by an antagonistic right of parent, to direct the education of the young. Education is to be offered only by

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 224.
[19] *L'Isle Inconnue*, Vol. II, pp. 309 f.
[20] See a quotation from his *New View of Society*, footnote 31, p. 24.
[21] *Oceana*, p. 173.
[22] *Du Système Industriel*, Vol. VI, pp. 238 f.

the state, with the sole exception that private individuals will have the right, in scientific branches as in all other domains, to offer courses and lectures for adults.[23]

Another noteworthy feature of school administration in some utopias is the advocacy of educational standardization. Gott in his *Nova Solyma* establishes a great central college or university, "intended for the flower of the age, and to be an example for all other teaching institutions in the land." Lower schools, located in the principal towns throughout the country, are affiliated with the central institution of higher education, and are inspected in order each year by the head tutor of the latter and his chief assistants. Uniform methods and quality of teaching are thus secured.[24]

Harrington also advocates school uniformity for the sake of the pupils who have to change from one school to another. The schools of *Oceana* are to be inspected by government officials—"the censors of the tribes"—and to be modeled after the school at Hiera (Westminster).[25]

Among modern utopians, Bellamy, Hertzka, and Tarbouriech are conspicuous for proposing uniform education for all up to a fixed minimum age. Bellamy, as already stated, would establish universal higher education. Hertzka proposes the same training for boys and girls until the age of sixteen, although emphasizing physical training for boys and music for girls. More cautious than his two predecessors, Tarbouriech extends the period of elementary education to the age of fifteen, but with the proviso that if the grades of a pupil at the end of any of the last three years fall below a certain minimum, the school authorities may exclude him, and compel him to begin to learn a trade as an apprentice.[26]

In various ways already indicated the utopians recognize that educational administration is a function requiring expert knowledge and that its successful performance can never be the result of the blind and haphazard efforts of untrained individuals. It is true that their schemes fall short of the standards laid down by the most advanced educational thought of the present day; yet they clearly reveal the utopians' deep insight in searching for means to improve the educational situation with which they

[23] *La Cité Future*, p. 313.
[24] *Nova Solyma*, I, pp. 236 f.
[25] *Oceana*, p. 173.
[26] *La Cité Future*, p. 315.

all were confronted. Plato's scheme of philosophers as rulers of the state, Campanella's ministers of state in charge of education, Grivel's department of education in the central government and Gott's and Harrington's provisions for government inspectors and model schools,—all these show the utopians' early conviction that the direction of education should be placed only in the hands of individuals of demonstrated capacity.

SCHOOL CURRICULA

The immediate objectives of education advocated by the utopians have been set forth in a preceding section of this study.[27] It will be well to examine now the rôle assigned to the school in the attainment of said objectives. An attempt will be made in this section to present in broad outline the curricula proposed here and there by these idealists. But the reader should be reminded at this point of the words of caution inserted at the beginning of this chapter to the effect that there is less difference between formal and informal education in the Utopian world than in ours; that the Utopian school, being closely identified with its environment, is often an elusive subject for purposes of observation; and that the treatment of formal education is informal and incomplete in utopias, which essentially are mere works of imaginative literature. These facts are particularly corroborated by the utopians' discussions of school curricula. On this subject utopias offer only sporadic suggestions.

THE CURRICULUM OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

The Elementary Curriculum in The Republic

Elementary education for all is the rule in utopias.[28] Again the *Republic* stands out as a noteworthy exception; for in Plato's state the workers are excluded from the privilege of a formal education, the system of apprenticeship and the normal activities of life being deemed sufficient to meet the educational wants of this class.[29] For the other two classes in his ideal state—the auxiliaries and the guardians—Plato proposes [30] a thoroughgoing

[27] See pp. 62 ff.
[28] See pp. 23 f.
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] It is not the purpose to present in detail here Plato's elaborate plan. His famous treatise has been ably and fully discussed by many students of philosophy and education. See, for example, Jowett's Introduction to his edition of *The Republic* and Adamson's *The Theory of Education in Plato's "Republic."* Only the outlines of the plan will appear in this study.

course of training which consists of music [31] and gymnastics, these two divisions of the scheme being opposed to each other, as mental to bodily training.[32] Music is intended for the improvement of the philosophical element of the soul, causing it to become orderly and temperate.[33] Gymnastics, besides producing physical health, will foster the qualities of bravery, endurance, and temperance, thus becoming an aid in the training of the soul.[34] The two branches combined will bring about harmony of reason and passion.[35]

Up to the age of ten the gymnastic exercises constitute the bulk of the training given to the children. At the same time they pass from myths and fables to simple lessons in manners, morals, and taste.

The formal element in Plato's scheme of education does not become prominent until the children have reached the age of ten. For four years they are then taught reading and writing, after which two years are given to music, strictly so called, and poetry. Finally, the span between sixteen and eighteen is devoted to the study of the rudiments of the mathematical sciences, —arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music.[36]

With the final stage in elementary education thus reached, a selection is made. The individuals of inferior intellectual ability remain in the warrior or auxiliary guardian class, and only those students are permitted to proceed to higher studies who give promise of success in them.[37] With Plato, a chief aim of education is to discover and train to the utmost the superior individual.[38]

[31] The significance of the term "music" in Greek education should be noted. Music included "all that came within the activities presided over by the nine Muses. Hence poetry, the drama, history, oratory, the sciences, as well as music in the more limited sense, came to be included within the scope of this term."—P. Monroe, *History of Education*, p. 90.

[32] *The Republic*, Book II, pp. 58 f.

[33] *Ibid.*, Book III, p. 88.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 98 f.

[35] "He who mingles music and gymnastics in the fairest proportions, and best attempers them to the soul, may be rightly called the true musician and harmonist in a far higher sense than the tuner of the strings." *The Republic*, Book III, p. 100.

"The united influence of music and gymnastics will bring them [reason and passion] into accord, nerving and sustaining the reason with noble words and lessons, and moderating and soothing and civilizing the wildness of passion by harmony and rhythm." Book IV, p. 134.

[36] See Jowett's Introduction to Plato's *The Republic*, pp. cci ff, and also Book VII of *The Republic*.

[37] *The Republic*, Book VII, p. 241.

[38] See p. 27.

The Elementary Curriculum in Early Modern Utopias

Sir Thomas More, Plato's immediate successor in the realm of utopian literature, fails to propose a formal curriculum, and is satisfied with emphasizing the importance of the formation of character over the mere acquisition of knowledge. He also stresses the necessity of a very early beginning of the child's mental and moral training; "for when deep impressions of these things [i.e., such opinions as are both good in themselves and useful to their country] are made in that age, they follow men through the whole course of their lives." [39]

Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* also fails to present its author's views on the curriculum that he would formulate for the schools of his utopia. This work of Bacon's was never completed, and in the fragment that he has left, his chief contribution to educational thought is his projected House of Solomon, a great institution for the discovery and dissemination of knowledge.

Three other utopians of the seventeenth century—Andreæ, Campanella, and Gott—deal with formal education at greater length than their English predecessors. The first two follow Plato's example in three respects; namely, in the provision of formal education not only for the boys but also for the girls; in the provision of facilities for vocational choice based only on individual ability and inclination; and in the emphasis placed on the importance of physical training.[40] They do not enumerate the subjects which they would include in the elementary course, and it may be presumed that the three R's would constitute the bulk of the training. As helps in finding out the student's occupational bent, Andreæ proposes manual training and domestic art and science; while Campanella adds visits to shops of the various trades, such as shoemaking, metal working, carpentry, etc., lectures on the sciences, and training in the mechanic arts.

Gott differs with his contemporaries, Andreæ and Campanella, on two important points. In the first place, he does not make any provision for the education of girls. Apparently boys only are to be the beneficiaries of his educational scheme. In the second place, he proposes not a single program of studies open to all boys, but different programs for the sons of the well-to-do

[39] *Utopia*, pp. 156 f.
[40] Andreæ, *Christianopolis*, p. 210; Campanella, *The City of the Sun*, p. 227.

and of the poor. He does not recognize the principle of equality of opportunity; for he fears that a higher education for the masses will create among them a profound discontent with their station in life.[41] Accordingly, the academic education of the poorer classes in Gott's *Nova Solyma* goes no farther than reading, writing, arithmetic, geometry, and such other studies as are a help in the mechanic arts. Instruction is given also in morality, religion, and military exercises.[42] However, Gott does not completely close the door of opportunity to worthy and needy boys; for in order to support students of this type in schools of higher learning he institutes public scholarships.[43]

In contrast with the practical bent of the elementary education which Gott advocates for the boys of the poor, the program proposed for well-to-do boys is purely academic in character. The latter up to the age of ten study grammar,[44] arithmetic, and the simpler mathematics, the purpose being to develop the mind, and in particular the reasoning powers.[45] This training is merely preparation for higher education in a secondary school or in the great central college or university of Nova Solyma.

The Elementary Curriculum in Recent Utopias

After Gott two centuries elapse before new ideal schemes appear, presenting details of elementary education. It is not until the emergence of Cabet in the nineteenth century that utopian literature again concerns the basic part of formal education,—that elementary training which only in the most advanced countries of the world—and that in recent times—has become the birthright of all children.

Cabet in his *Icaria* provides for a universal and uniform elementary education that includes "the elements of all human knowledge," [46] while Bellamy in *Looking Backward* would give

[41] See p. 24.

[42] *Nova Solyma*, I, p. 238.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

[44] It may be well to note here the meaning that in this case should be attached to the term "grammar." "Grammar was simply an introduction to literature, and after gaining some facility in Latin through simple proverbs, epigrams, and fables, the pupils read some of the classic and Christian authors themselves." F. P. Graves, *History of Education during the Middle Ages*, p. 17.

[45] "It has appeared to us that those sciences which are the least mixed up with the customs of mankind, and have their first principles in the nature of things, and can be tested by the senses, are by far the best adapted to bring out the reasoning powers, and to strengthen the grasp of the youthful mind, always so apt to wander and to lack concentration." *Nova Solyma*, I, p. 93.

[46] *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 74.

all citizens an elementary knowledge of the humanities, some appreciation for the things of the mind, and an admiration for the still higher culture not attained by them.[47] Following close after the two Utopian Socialists just mentioned, the Austrian economist, Hertzka, advocates the view that the youth of *Freeland* "without distinction of sex and without reference to future callings" ought to enjoy an education which, with the exception of the knowledge of Greek and Latin, should correspond to that obtainable, say, in the first six classes in a German gymnasium. Accordingly, both boys and girls are to attend school from six to sixteen, and after acquiring the fundamentals of knowledge, are to be taught grammar, history of literature, general history, history of civilization, physics, natural history, geometry, and algebra.[48] In addition an extensive program of physical education is proposed; but in the case of the girls less time is given to bodily exercises and more to musical training.[49]

In contrast with the ambitious programs of Cabet, Bellamy, and Hertzka, Tarbouriech's plan in his *Cité Future,* appearing in the dawn of the twentieth century, seems to have been conceived in a spirit of reaction. Elementary education, as provided in this plan, is given between the ages of seven and fifteen, the latter being the upper limit of compulsory school attendance; but if the grades of a pupil at the end of any of the last three years fall below a certain minimum the school authorities may exclude him and put him to a trade apprenticeship.[50]

At first sight it may appear that Tarbouriech is less liberally inclined than his immediate predecessors; but the fact is that these thinkers are all the victims of the same mistake, which led them, however, to support opposite views. They all misunderstand or ignore the endless differences in individual capacity and consequently do not hesitate to identify education with purely intellectual pursuits. But while Tarbouriech would keep out from school at a tender age those children not able to profit by a purely academic curriculum, the others overestimate the human capacity for purely intellectual activity.

The existence of individual differences is fully recognized in a solution of the problem of the school curriculum sketched by H. G. Wells. In his *Modern Utopia,* as already stated, the school-

[47] *Looking Backward,* p. 221.
[48] *Freeland,* p. 159.
[49] *Ibid.,* pp. 231 f.
[50] *La Cité Future,* p. 315.

ing period ends about the age of fourteen, when a small number of children—about three per cent—are set aside as unteachable. The rest go on to a college or upper school where the course is completed at eighteen. Several different college courses are offered, but one or other has to be taken and an examination passed at the end, when about ten per cent fail.

In his *Men Like Gods*, Mr. Wells discusses at greater length the educational curriculum of the Utopian child, and he does so in such felicitous terms and with such rich suggestiveness that his statement bears full quotation. "Every Utopian child," says Mr. Wells, "is taught to the full measure of its possibilities and directed to the work that is indicated by its desires and capacity. It is born well. It is born of perfectly healthy parents; its mother has chosen to bear it after due thought and preparation. It grows up under perfectly healthy conditions; its natural impulses to play and learn are gratified by the subtlest educational methods; hands, eyes, and limbs are given every opportunity of training and growth; it learns to draw, write, express himself, use a great variety of symbols to assist and extend its thought. Kindness and civility become ingrained habits, for all about him are kind and civil. And in particular the growth of its imagination is watched and encouraged. It learns the wonderful history of its world and its race, how man has struggled and still struggles out of his earlier animal narrowness and egotism towards an empire over being that is still but faintly apprehended through dense veils of ignorance. All its desires are made fine; it learns from poetry, from example and the love of those about it to lose its solicitude for itself in love; its sexual passions are turned against its selfishness, its curiosity flowers into scientific passion, its combativeness is set to fight disorder, its inherent pride and ambition are directed toward an honorable share in the common achievement. It goes to the work that attracts it and chooses what it will do." [51]

Mr. Wells, it will be noted, brings into play in his curriculum five essentials of an ideal education; namely, (1) healthy and intelligent parenthood, (2) a wholesome environment, (3) education according to native ability, (4) right educational methods, and (5) balanced development of body and mind. To these he adds, as essentials of his educational program, the study of

[51] *Men Like Gods*, pp. 78 f.

history and literature, training in science, morality, and civic action, and vocational guidance.

The importance of a common educational foundation for all citizens, which is a favorite theme of the modern utopians, has most recently been emphasized by Professor David Snedden in his imaginary account of Gopher Prairie in the year 2000. The schools of Gopher Prairie in that year will assure to all individuals a uniform foundation of *common* culture, largely attained before the age of twelve is reached. Professor Snedden, furthermore, advocates specialization in cultural achievements. To this end the schools, besides transmitting a common culture, will foster many forms of *special* culture along lines of native talents and acquired interests. They will help to realize a culturally superior city in two ways. First, they will correct what Professor Snedden calls the musty traditions as to common culture. In order to accomplish this reform, they will start by clearly defining the objectives, qualitatively and quantitatively, of the essential "common culture" in terms of correct speech, manners, social behavior, interest in current events, knowledge of history, and the like. Second, the schools will individualize cultural achievements in such a manner that these achievements will complement each other in society. For instance, outside of working hours ten carpenters may go into ten very unlike fields of culture, such as reading, music, and nature study. The schools will encourage the individual's bent toward special fields of culture and inspire him to follow it throughout life.[52]

Some utopias are characterized by an utter absence of formal, systematic curricula, the mastery of the tools of learning and the acquisition of knowledge being in themselves processes merely incidental to the business of living, and not calling for rigidly organized schools with time-tables, curricula, and all the paraphernalia of formal education. Such utopias clearly reveal their authors' despair before the social situation of their time,—a feeling reflected in their educational arrangements. Of the utopias in question the best instances are Morris' *News from Nowhere* and Blatchford's *The Sorcery Shop*. In the society which these two works portray living and learning are simplicity itself, the present complexities of civilization having entirely vanished from the picture. Consequently a protracted and

[52] "Gopher Prairie, A. D. 2000,'" *School and Society*, XVIII (1923), pp. 215 f.

diversified formal training, with emphasis on its intellectual aspect, has become superfluous. And so it happens that in Nowhere book-learning is supposed to be a very simple affair; children, seeing books lying around, manage to read by the time they are four years old, but as a rule they do not read much until they are fifteen, except for a few story books. Early bookishness is not encouraged, and when a person can read he reads only what he likes.[53]

Blatchford, as already stated,[54] abolishes the school and entrusts its functions to the home, especially to the mother. Primarily the mother teaches her children to be truthful and clean and kind; then she teaches them the rudiments of learning, beginning with the three R's. Arithmetic is much simplified by the disuse of money and the children are taught only a few simple rules. In spite of the informality of this instruction, Blatchford claims for most of his Utopians the ability to read and write the universal language as well as English before they are in their teens, and to pick up other knowledges, such as botany, astronomy, geography, and gardening.[55]

THE CURRICULUM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

Turning from the curriculum of elementary education in utopias to that of secondary education we still find the deficiencies indicated above,—informality and incompleteness in the discussion of school studies and pupil activities requisite for the attainment of the objectives aimed at. The subsequent account—necessarily restricted in scope because of the deficiencies just referred to—will follow the same order as that on the elementary curriculum. Beginning with Plato it will next present the views of the early modern utopians of the seventeenth century; it will take up those of only one utopian of the eighteenth century, a period of scant utopian literature; and finally it will bring together the main suggestions left by the utopians of modern times.

Before considering the utopians' ideas on the secondary school curriculum it may be well to inquire whether secondary education is as easily accessible to all Utopian children as elementary education. The utopians are divided on this point. As a rule

[53] Morris, *News from Nowhere*, pp. 43 ff.
[54] See p. 43.
[55] *The Sorcery Shop*, pp. 59 f.

the early utopians apply the principle of selection to secondary education; for they provide that only those children who have established beyond a shadow of doubt their ability to follow the proposed secondary curriculum should be allowed to do so. Among the modern utopians, on the other hand, the consensus of opinion is that secondary education should be universal. This difference of opinion will be here substantiated.

The Secondary Curriculum in The Republic

Starting again with *The Republic* it is found that the second stage [56] in Plato's scheme of formal education begins about the age of twenty, after the first selection of students has been made and only those who have shown capacity for further systematic study have been allowed to go on. Until the age of thirty the students will take up the mathematical sciences—arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music—whose rudiments they acquire during the first period of their education. The study of these sciences will now be systematized, and the students will realize the relationships of the same to one another and as parts of a whole.[57] Furthermore, they will be studied not for their practical applications, but for their philosophic value,—the assistance they give in revealing absolute truth, in elevating the soul and in the contemplation of the Idea of the Good.[58]

The Secondary Curriculum in Early Modern Utopias

Twenty centuries elapse between Plato and Andreæ, the seventeenth-century German reformer who, like the Greek idealist, is a professional educator and extensively discusses the problems of education in his utopia. Andreæ offers a much greater variety of academic disciplines than Plato. He would include the mathematical sciences, but he would add ancient and modern languages, natural science, logic, ethics, and theology.[59] The languages to be studied first are Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The older students may take up also oratory and modern languages.

With the inclusion of ancient languages, logic, ethics, and theology in the curriculum Andreæ is merely yielding to contemporary usage. These subjects usually occupied a prominent place in secondary education after the Renaissance and the

[56] *The Republic,* Book VII, p. 241.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *The Republic,* Book VII, pp. 224, 228 f., 232, and 234.
[59] *Christianopolis,* pp. 210 ff.

Reformation. In the case of language study, other utopians of his time agree with Andreæ as to its importance. One century earlier More had given an account of the introduction of Greek in Utopia and acknowledged its value as an instrument of culture.[60] Bacon, whose utopia appeared only a decade after Andreæ's, makes the people of *The New Atlantis* appear conversant with Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Spanish.[61] Gott and Harrington specifically give a place to the ancient languages among the formal studies. According to the former, the three great languages of antiquity "are the precious caskets wherein are stored all the first jewels of art and science.[62] Harrington would include Hebrew and Greek "for the understanding of the Scriptures and the acquisition of knowledge of ancient times." [63]

Andreæ, however, is not blind to the value of the vernacular as a subject of study, for he states that "too easily persuaded are they who attribute to the Latin language the power of making them better educated rather than to the German." [64]

It is with his advocacy of natural science which, he affirms, would lead the students to a better understanding of the mysteries of nature, that the German reformer best proves to be ahead of his age. A chemical laboratory, a dissection room, a mathematical laboratory, an astronomical observatory, and museums of natural history are indispensable aids in the study and advancement of science.[65] Bacon and Campanella, Andreæ's contemporary utopians, recognize the merits of science and advocate its cultivation; but neither of them proposes so complete a plan for its use as a school discipline as does Andreæ.

Planning his utopia also during the first half of the seventeenth century, Gott asserts that the aim of the higher learning which he advocates is proficiency in the liberal arts and in the moral virtues.[66] His model Public Academy is "intended for the flower of the age, and to be an example for all other teaching institutions in the land.[67] Its course is completed in seven years.[68] Gott, like Andreæ, includes Greek, Latin, and Hebrew

[60] *Utopia*, pp. 126 f.
[61] *The New Atlantis*, pp. 172 f.
[62] *Nova Solyma*, I, pp. 245 f.
[63] *Oceana*, pp. 179 f.
[64] *Christianopolis*, p. 214.
[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 196 ff.
[66] *Nova Solyma*, I, p. 230.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 236.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

in his curriculum, and beyond these three languages would give some attention to modern foreign languages.[69] He attributes a tremendous importance to poetry as a school subject,[70] and presents in full a plan for its study.[71] In short, for Gott languages and literature should constitute the bulk of a secondary education. Thus he reveals his humanistic sympathies.

In the field of education the middle ground between the early modern utopians and those of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries is occupied by the Frenchman, Mercier. Like his predecessors, he would include modern languages in secondary education; but unlike them he would not subordinate the modern languages to the languages of antiquity. Instead he would entirely discard the classical languages,[72] and therein most of his successors would agree with him. And also like the latest utopians he would give mathematics and science a place in the curriculum; but unlike them he only emphasizes the importance of algebra[73] and physics.[74] Furthermore, Mercier makes a vigorous plea for the study of the vernacular instead of the classical languages. Rather than force the students during long years of their lives to acquire "a superficial tincture of two dead languages," he would use reliable translations of classical masterpieces together with abundant and worthy material in the vernacular which has the advantage of being "more relative to our manners, to our government, to our progress in philosophical knowledge and in politics, and lastly to that moral view of which we should never lose sight."[75]

Indeed, among the utopians Mercier is the earliest and one of the most bitter opponents of the study of foreign languages, the burden of his argument being that such study adds little to the student's stock of ideas, that it dulls his faculty of thought, that it consumes an unjustifiable amount of time, that excellence in foreign languages is seldom attained, and that it is a much wiser course to devote more attention to the vernacular.[76] However, he evidently recognizes that in certain fields of knowledge the possession of foreign languages may be necessary to the

[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 245 f.
[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 256 f.
[71] *Ibid.*, pp. 267 ff.
[72] *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*, I, pp. 52 ff.; II, pp. 135 ff.
[73] *Ibid.*, I, p. 56.
[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 58 f.
[75] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 52 f.
[76] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 135 ff.

student; for he proposes that each branch of knowledge should have its own language, this language apparently to serve as a clearing house for all existing knowledge in that field. Thus German might be chosen as the language of chemists and naturalists; English, of poets and historians; French, of romances and politics. Under this arrangement a specialist would need to study, not several foreign languages, but only the language of his particular field.[77]

With his strong opposition to the study of ancient languages and faint recognition of the importance of the mathematical and physical sciences, Mercier as an educational theorist is the forerunner of utopians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The Secondary Curriculum in Recent Utopias

The modern utopians' views on secondary education occur sporadically in their works and are suggestive rather than exhaustive. As can be surmised from the preceding discussion of the elementary curriculum and from the statements of the objectives of education, the consensus of opinion among the utopians of the last century and a quarter is that the privilege of a secondary education should be made universal. This is particularly evident in Bellamy's, Hertzka's, and Wells's social anticipations, in all of which the fundamentals of education include elements that in the schools of our world are provided only as a part of secondary education. In fact, in these utopias there is not such a gap between elementary and secondary education as with us; in them the process of schooling undergone prior to the student's entrance into a vocational school or the industrial world is characterized by an extreme degree of continuity, the student gradually passing from the acquisition of the tools of knowledge to those studies that in our world have been the province of the secondary school. Consequently in most modern utopias at least the elements of the humanities, mathematics, and science as a rule become a part of the intellectual equipment of all the children. Bellamy believes that the people of limited intellectual endowments should be compensated by giving them the very best educational opportunities; that if everybody cannot be educated, then the coarsest and dullest by nature, rather than the brightest, should be chosen to receive what education can be given; that the naturally re-

[77] *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*, pp. 136 f.

fined and intellectual can take care of themselves in the matter of culture; and that by this arrangement the friction of social life will be reduced.[78]

But the optimism of these utopians is not shared by all their contemporary colleagues. In other utopias, where ample recognition is given to the fact that large numbers of children lack the necessary ability or inclination for higher studies, the facilities for education beyond the fundamentals are at the disposal only of those students who have established beyond a shadow of doubt their ability to profit by it. In Tarbouriech's *La Cité Future,* as pointed out above,[79] children may be excluded from school at any time during the last three years of the elementary course if their scholarship is unsatisfactory. Further, only those boys and girls who have received exceptionally high marks in their elementary studies and have otherwise demonstrated their ability are allowed to pursue a higher course of learning.[80] In Saunders' *Kalomera* the intellectually inferior children are actually neglected. Teachers are expected to devote the greater part of their time and attention to those children "whose desire for knowledge raised at least a fair presumption that their mental gifts were above the average." [81] "Quite apart from any other consideration, it would not have been considered right that they [the teachers] should waste their time in attempting to force instruction on inattentive or unwilling children." [82]

Science versus Language in Recent Utopias

While considering who are to be the recipients of a secondary education the utopians at the same time give thought to the problem of the program of studies. Their discussion concerns two great fields of knowledge: language and science.

The modern utopians exclude, as a rule, the classical languages and in some instances even the modern languages, from the school curriculum. Cabet is of the opinion that the "old tyrants" imposed "these sterile studies" [languages] only in order to prevent their subjects from getting an education, and

[78] *Looking Backward,* pp. 218 ff. Cabet had previously advocated leniency and generosity toward incapable students, also for the sake of intellectual equality. In Icaria instead of losing their patience in dealing with such students, the elders through patience, interest, and effort help them in overcoming the unjust inequalities of nature. *Voyage en Icarie,* p. 91.

[79] See p. 67.

[80] *La Cité Future,* p. 327.

[81] *Kalomera,* p. 62.

[82] *Ibid.,* p. 276

he makes the study of languages a profession, only a certain number of young people being allowed to pursue it—those who are planning to make the use of foreign languages their life work in the capacity of translators, interpreters, scholars, and travelers.[83] Foreign works are available to the people in correct translations made by language experts.[84] Hertzka also omits the classical languages from the curriculum of university education, and makes their study optional.[85] Tarbouriech discerns an aristocratic purpose in classical education; according to him, classical education holds its own because it is based on class distinction and has as a purpose its perpetuation.[86] Finally, H. G. Wells easily disposes of some arguments advanced for the inclusion of the classical languages in the secondary curriculum. To Mr. Wells the claim that their study helps in improving the student's style is preposterous; for "every one who has given any attention to this question is aware that the intellectual gesture is entirely different in highly inflected languages such as Greek and Latin and in such uninflected language as English. . . ." [87] To him, again, the time-honored instruction in classical languages is a serious defect of English higher education. "Its backbone has been the teaching of Latin by men who can read, write, and speak it rather worse than a third-rate Babu speaks English, and of ancient Greek by teachers who at best half know this fine lost language. They do not expect any real mastery of either tongue, and naturally therefore no real mastery is ever attained." [88] On the other hand, Mr. Wells advocates, as a measure designed to promote world peace, the teaching of some common language in the schools or each other's language reciprocally; but this is to be only a step leading finally to the suppression of linguistic differences and to a common speech and a common literature.[89] A common language—"no linguistic im-

[83] The idea of making the study of languages a purely professional study appears also in one of the early utopias, Campanella's *City of the Sun*. In this utopia "not too much care is given to the cultivation of languages, as they have a goodly number of interpreters who are grammarians in the state." (Pp. 228 f.) "Indeed it is necessary that three of them should be skilled in one tongue, three in Arabic, three in Polish, and three in each of the other languages." (P. 230.)

[84] *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 80.

[85] *Freeland*, p. 138.

[86] *La Cité Future*, p. 323.

[87] *Social Forces in England and America*, pp. 262 f.

[88] *What is Coming?*, p. 152.

[89] *A Modern Utopia*, pp. 335 f.

pediments to intercourse"—is one of the chief blessings of Modern Utopia.[90]

Among the modern utopians only T. B. Russell favors the retention of the classical languages. In his opinion French, German, or any other modern language cannot compare with Greek and Latin as intellectual gymnastics and as training in precise expression. "If we believe," says Russell, "that there will be so many improvements in the shape of labor-saving contrivances as to afford a large increase of leisure for every one, as compared with what the present time enjoys, we shall probably expect the languages which enshrine the greatest literatures of the world to remain a subject of study. If we believe in the growing intellectuality of man, we shall be strengthened in the same expectation." [91]

The void left in the school curriculum through the elimination or curtailment of the study of foreign languages should be filled by the study of science, judging from the utopians' statements in regard to the merits, achievements, and possibilities of science. The change would be a logical result of the scientific progress of modern times. It will be remembered that as far back as the seventeenth century, Andreæ had advocated the teaching of science in the schools, and Bacon and Campanella had also recognized its promise for the advancement of knowledge.[92] With the tremendous progress in research, invention, and discovery of the nineteenth century, science could not but appeal again to advanced thinkers as a worthy subject of study.

Restricting this survey to the latest utopians, we first see Cabet advocating in the middle of the nineteenth century the introduction of science in the schools of Icaria. Above all, what the Icarians early teach to their children is the elements of natural science,—such as the elements of geology, geography, mineralogy, history of the animals and vegetables, physics, chemistry, and astronomy.[93]

But in the field of utopias it was left to a small group of idealists who have conceived their dreams of reform during the present century to point out most forcefully the potentialities of science and the necessity of its inclusion in the curriculum of formal education. At the head of this group is Tarbouriech,

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[91] *A Hundred Years Hence*, pp. 167 f.
[92] See p. 72.
[93] *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 81.

who in his *Cité Future* asserts that science must be the basis of instruction, and that it "must have no other end than to initiate the young progressively and in proportion to their intellectual development, into the different methods that the human spirit has devised to arrive at the truth." [94] T. B. Russell, who alone among this group urges the retention of ancient languages in the curriculum, is also in favor of the teaching of science, basing his stand on two reasons; namely, that a proficient acquaintance with physical science will be necessary to a great many occupations and that the habit of mind which is formed by scientific studies is not only very necessary to an efficient working life, but also very helpful as a basis of practical culture.[95] In *Kalomera* science is linked with religion. It is taught in connection with the evolutionary theories on which the Kalomeran theological system is based and with a view to making these theories more comprehensible to children.[96] In the "new" England described in *The Sorcery Shop* science becomes history. An anarchistic society has stopped reading the traditional accounts "about battles, murders, and executions" and the "nightmare period" of mankind and instead studies about the past only such things as the geologic periods, the beginning of life, and the descent of man.[97] Again, in Limanora, the Island of Progress, science identifies itself with literature. In this utopia literature is all science, and that the science of the future. Romancing about the past or the present, without reference to subsequent progress, is a waste of imagination and a crime against the future.[98] The works produced by the Limanoran families engaged in literature is science in embryo. In short, "science lays the foundations of literature, and literature prepares the way for science." [99]

Last but not least, H. G. Wells sees in the scant attention given to science one of the chief defects of present-day schooling. In his *Story of a Great Schoolmaster* he asserts that if the boys who attended the Oundle School—a typical English secondary school—before Principal Sanderson became its head "learnt anything of the marvellous new vision of the world that modern sci-

[94] *La Cité Future*, p. 324.
[95] *A Hundred Years Hence*, pp. 161 f.
[96] Saunders, *Kalomera*, p. 276.
[97] Blatchford, *The Sorcery Shop*, p. 81.
[98] Sweven, *Limanora*, pp. 425 f.
[99] *Ibid.*, p. 428.

ence was unfolding, they learnt it by their own private reading and against the wishes of their antiquated teachers." [100] Furthermore, in *The Dream* Mr. Wells implies that there is a colossal disregard of science in modern education; for a character in that work is made to say that "of the great past of life, of the races of men and their slow growth in knowledge, of fears and dark superstitions and the dawning victories of truth, of the conquest and sublimation of human passions through the ages, of the divinity of research and discovery, of the latent splendour of our bodies and senses, and the present dangers and possibilities amidst which the continually more crowded masses of our race were then blundering so tragically and yet with such bright gleams of hope and promise, we heard no talk at all. We were given no intimation that there was so much as a human community with a common soul and an ultimate common destiny." [101] In his *Men Like Gods*, Mr. Wells describes mankind as having reached a state of development that from our standpoint seems well-nigh impossible. Therein he refers to a certain boy who at the age of thirteen had received a training which, in its more serious part, had involved mathematical work interrelated to physical and chemical science,[102]—a fact which goes to indicate the importance attributed to science in the training of the young in a modern utopia.

Summary

To recapitulate: Plato proposes for the prospective guardians of his ideal state, as the second stage of their formal education, the study of what in medieval times came to be known as the quadrivium, that is, the four subjects—arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music—which constituted the higher division of the seven liberal arts. This narrow curriculum, involving as it does only the mathematical sciences, is expanded by Andreæ, who adds language, natural science, logic, ethics, and theology. These new subjects, with the exception of natural science, are also advocated by other early utopians. Andreæ's chief claim to originality as an educational theorist lies in his introduction of the study of natural science in the schools, in which he stands far ahead of even Bacon and Campanella.

[100] *The Story of a Great Schoolmaster*, p. 32.
[101] *The Dream*, p. 28.
[102] *Men Like Gods*, p. 263.

The study of foreign languages, both ancient and modern is strongly sanctioned by the early modern utopians; but beginning with Mercier during the latter part of the eighteenth century there is a growing disposition among the utopians to question the importance given to this study in the schools. The consensus of opinion is that the classical languages should be discarded from the curriculum. There is less agreement as to the place that should be given to modern languages; Cabet, for instance, makes of their study and use a profession by itself, while Wells acknowledges their value as a means to world peace, although his ultimate ideal is a common language.

The commanding position formerly occupied by the languages the utopians would give to science, whose achievements and potentialities and whose value as a subject of instruction they fully recognize. This shift from languages to science is, in brief, the most significant feature in the utopian curriculum of secondary education.

HIGHER ACADEMIC EDUCATION

Little is said by the utopians concerning academic studies to be pursued after the completion of secondary education. Apparently most of them look upon the secondary curriculum as the final stage of academic education, after which vocational training should hold sway. Even when they propose higher academic studies a professional lean is discernible therein. Still another fact that may account for the decreased importance of higher education in utopias is that several functions which it greatly subserves in our world are entrusted in utopias, not to the school, but to other agencies, as will be shown in succeeding chapters. Among such functions are the development of an abiding intellectual curiosity that will make of its possessors lifelong students; the discovery and training of the leaders of society; and the discovery and dissemination of knowledge.

Plato's scheme of advanced academic education is an exception to the common utopian practice of giving a utilitarian bent to the higher studies. The Greek philosopher, as already stated, makes the prospective guardians of the Republic study the mathematical sciences approximately between the ages of twenty and thirty. Then a second selection among the students is made, some being assigned to minor public offices while the

more promising proceed with their studies.[103] In this third stage—from the age of thirty to thirty-five—the latter students are engaged in the study of philosophy, which now takes the place of gymnastics and is continued exclusively for twice the number of years which were passed in bodily exercise.[104] As in the case of the mathematical sciences, Plato attaches great importance to training in dialectics because of the philosophical value that he sees in that subject. According to him, dialectics will help the student in finding the truth,[105] and will lead him to the contemplation of the idea of good,[106] which is the highest aim of the Platonic educational scheme. Dialectics is, in brief, the coping-stone of the sciences.[107]

Plato's scheme of higher education is thus purely academic. It does not include any of the social studies, such as history, law, and economics, and what it does include is studied not for its practical applications, but for its philosophical value. It seems that Plato would have his guardians become familiar with the problems of society only through actual participation in their solution; for as soon as the formal course of instruction is completed, at the age of thirty-five, the students are placed in positions of authority: "in this way they will get their experience of life, and there will be an opportunity of trying whether, when they are drawn all manner of ways by temptation, they will stand firm or flinch." [108]

While Plato emphasizes the importance of dialectics to the future rulers of his ideal commonwealth, other utopians prefer more practical studies as preparation for political leadership, thus giving a vocational bent to higher education. They frequently urge, in particular, the value of the social studies. Gott proposes a three-year course in philosophy and politics "for those students who had taken a degree in Arts already, and who were thus being qualified to sustain their rank and position in life in the noblest way." [109] Harrington also recognizes the importance of a mastery of the science and art of politics; for he asserts that "the perfection of a commonwealth is not to be attained without the knowledge of ancient prudence, nor the knowledge

[103] *The Republic*, Book VII, p. 241.
[104] *Ibid.*, p. 244.
[105] *Ibid.*, p. 237.
[106] *Ibid.*, p. 235.
[107] *Ibid.*, p. 238.
[108] *Ibid.*, p. 244.
[109] *Nova Solyma*, II, p. 7.

of ancient prudence without learning, nor learning without schools of good literature, and these are such as we call universities."[110] Among the latest utopians, Saunders advocates the study of history and literature,[111] Kirwan of ethics and political and domestic economy,[112] and T. B. Russell of history as a vast lesson in sociology and politics.[113] In a recent work H. G. Wells criticizes the lack of the study of society in a typical English secondary school. The boys in this school, says Mr. Wells, "learnt nothing in school of the outlook of contemporary affairs, nothing of contemporary human work, nothing of the social and economic system in which many of them were presently to play the part of captains."[114] Among the essential results of an ideal curriculum Mr. Wells has included the knowledge of the history of the world and of mankind and the knowledge of human nature,[115] both of which imply an ample acquaintance with social studies.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOL

It is a significant fact that in the utopias written before the nineteenth century the school, as a rule, is not conceived as an agency for vocational education. Plato excludes from his educational scheme the artisan class of the Republic, which greatly simplifies his problem of planning an ideal educational system; for the class in question is the most numerous in his ideal state. He proposes for the warrior and the guardian classes a rigid process of selection; but those who fail to reach the highest goal —the twofold status of ruler and philosopher—enter at once upon their life work without further formal training. Only those superior individuals who are fit at once to govern the state and to lead a life of contemplation are given in the school all the training required for entrance into their life careers. However, this training, as pointed out above, is purely academic and has no reference at all to the practical work which the students will eventually be called upon to do. Only in so far as the proposed scheme trains the rulers of the Republic for the pursuit of philosophy can it be said to involve a vocational trend.

[110] *Oceana*, p. 179.
[111] *Kalomera*, p. 280.
[112] *Reciprocity in the Thirtieth Century*, p. 43.
[113] *A Hundred Years Hence*, p. 170.
[114] *The Story of a Great Schoolmaster*, p. 32.
[115] See footnote 64, p. 29.

Similarly the early modern utopians entrust the vocational training of the young to agencies other than the school. An exception to this rule is furnished by Gott, who provides that the children of the poor after having acquired the rudiments of knowledge will attend technical schools and public workshops in order to learn the more humble occupations and, in the case of those who show ability, the mechanic arts and crafts.[116] The early utopians are well-nigh silent even about the professional education for law, medicine, and theology which in their time was, together with the course in the liberal arts, the peculiar province of the universities. Andreæ refers to the existence of schools of medicine and jurisprudence in his utopia,[117] but speaks of the latter as being in fact an honorary rather than a necessary school.[118] His contemporary, Campanella, in an obscure passage mentions medicine as a subject of study; but fails to indicate how the training is given.[119]

Vocational education has two aspects; namely, the preliminary guidance and the actual vocational training. Among the early utopians Campanella alone discusses the initial aspect of the problem. In his City of the Sun the boys visit under the supervision of their teachers the shops where the various trades are practiced and after their seventh year attend lectures on the sciences, all this being done "in order to find out the best of the genius of each one." Only then does the specialized training begin, some engaging themselves in work requiring mainly physical exertion, others in public services or functions, while still others continue their studies, devoting themselves to "the more abstruse subjects, to mathematics, to medicine and to other sciences." [120]

The paucity of attention given by the early utopians to the problem of vocational education in the schools may be accounted for by the fact that the occupational world of their time was not characterized by the extreme degree of complexity brought about in our day by the progress of science, and particularly by the Industrial Revolution. Then a domestic economy prevailed and the apprenticeship system was in vogue, both combining to afford an easy and effective avenue of entrance into the industrial

[116] *Nova Solyma*, I, p. 238.
[117] *Christianopolis*, p. 245.
[118] *Ibid.*, p. 247.
[119] *The City of the Sun*, pp. 227 f.
[120] *Ibid.*

world. Now all that is changed. The factory system all but dominates the industrial world; industrial organizations tend to assume gigantic proportions; and the increasing urbanization of mankind goes on unchecked. To discuss the effects of these changes upon the work of mankind is beyond the scope of this study and the ability of the writer. Suffice it for our purpose to point out that as compared with former times the judicious choice of a trade or profession, the subsequent training, and the final entrance into any field of skilled work constitute now a truly intricate process.

Little wonder, then, that not until the nineteenth century the necessity and practicability of using the school as an agency for vocational guidance and training is generally discussed in utopias. The views on this subject expressed by the late utopians range widely from the belief that all the vocational training necessary for all trades and professions can be supplied in the schools, through combined plans of theoretical instruction in school and practical training elsewhere, to the contention that no vocational training at all in the schools is feasible or desirable.

First, as to the exclusive use of the school as an agency for vocational training. Hertzka is the first among the utopians to entrust to the school the training of workers for all occupations. In Freeland differentiation of training for the sexes and the preparation of boys for their several vocations begins at sixteen. The boys are then distributed among the various higher educational institutions. Most of them attend the industrial and commercial technical schools where a year or two is spent in preparation for the various branches of commerce and industry. Every Freeland worker, whatever his work, passes through one of these institutions. Hertzka asserts that the purpose of this plan is twofold; namely, to make every worker familiar with the whole circle of knowledge and practice connected with his occupation and next to place him in the position of being able to employ himself profitably, if he chooses to do so, in several branches of production. Pupils who give evidence of superior intellectual ability attend the universities or art academies.[121] The girls are trained for domestic work either at home or as pupil-daughters in the houses of well-educated women, and for teaching, nursing, and the arts in appropriate schools.[122]

[121] *Freeland*, pp. 232 f.
[122] *Ibid.*, p. 322.

The American utopian, Thomas Kirwan, in his *Reciprocity in the Thirtieth Century* also believes in the possibility of training the personnel for all occupations exclusively in the schools. His trade and professional schools are probationary or apprentice shops, the graduates of which are supposed to be competent masters of their various vocations and to take the place and earn the compensation of experienced workers in any line of work. No longer are trades and professions handicapped by the introduction of crude and unskilled labor.[123]

Other utopians sketch plans for vocational education calling for coöperation between the schools and the institutions where the students will eventually be employed. Thus, in Cabet's *Icaria* specialized education, beginning at seventeen for girls and eighteen for boys,[124] has two phases, the theoretical and the practical. The former is given in the schools through courses in which the theory and history of each trade or profession are taught and the latter in workshops where the apprentice passes through all degrees of apprenticeship.[125]

A plan similar to Cabet's is put forward by Tarbouriech, who is emphatic in his belief that practical training cannot be successfully carried on in the school, while at the same time he holds that it should be controlled by the educational authorities, though given in the actual field of industry. Tarbouriech proposes the introduction of professional courses in the secondary schools to prepare for work in agriculture, industry, the trades, teaching, and private and public business administration.[126] But he goes on to assert that the business of the schools as regards vocational training is only to teach the theoretical side of the various vocations; that vocational courses are "practical" only when their purpose is to emphasize that knowledge which in itself will be directly useful to the students when they begin their life work; and that no school can nor should be "practical" if by this it is meant that it really teaches a trade. "A master of a trade," Tarbouriech adds, "cannot be formed otherwise than by daily practice, graded as much as possible, which courses and lectures cannot replace." The vocational courses of the secondary school, despite their utilitarian lean, will be essentially educative, their purpose being not merely to aid in

[123] *Reciprocity in the Thirtieth Century*, p. 47.
[124] *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 74.
[125] *Ibid.*, p. 106.
[126] *La Cité Future*, p. 318 f.

the formation of technicians pent up in the narrow limits of a trade, but also to contribute to the full development of the personality of the students.[127] Simultaneously with the theoretical training of the schools, practical training will be given in workshops and factories, in stores and offices; but the apprentices will be under the control, not of the employers, but of the school authorities, and will retain the status of students until their training is completed.[128]

A twofold plan of entrance into the field of industry is laid down by Saunders. On reaching the age of sixteen those children who are not studiously inclined begin to perform the ordinary work of grown people. The boys go to work with the men and the girls are given a larger and more important share in the work of the house, both continuing meanwhile to give some part of their time to study. This part of the plan reflects its author's insistence that children should not be compelled to pursue studies that are not to their liking. For those students willing and able to pursue higher studies, another avenue of entrance into their chosen vocations is provided. At the age of sixteen they begin the college preparatory course, which usually lasts two years; they make their choice of profession towards the end of the first year in college; and finally at the end of this first year they enter the technical, scientific, or other colleges in which they receive the specialized training necessary to qualify them for their various professions.[129]

Among the utopians who propose coöperative schemes whereby the school and the various industrial agencies are to share in the vocational training of the young, Tarbouriech, as shown above, states that practical training can be successfully given only in the actual field of industry. A more extreme view, a sharp denial of the advisability of vocational training in the schools, is expressed by Butler. In his satirical utopia, *Erewhon*, Butler criticizes the present educational system for developing in the young all kinds of legitimate wants before they have acquired the means of earning money to satisfy those wants, with the result that they must either do without the things wanted or require more money than their parents can afford to spare. The English critic holds that in the schools of his time—

[127] *La Cité Future*, p. 322.
[128] *Ibid.*, pp. 315 f. and 318.
[129] *Kalomera*, pp. 280 f.

the Schools of Unreason, as he calls them—the boy was "incapacitated for doing this, that, or the other (he hardly knows what) during all which time he ought to have been actually doing the thing itself, beginning at the lowest grades, picking it up through actual practice, and rising according to the energy which is in him."[130] Butler further claims that a boy cannot learn even the rudiments of his chosen vocation in schools of technical education. "Such schools are cloister life as against the rough and tumble of the world; they unfit, rather than fit for work in the open. An art can only be learned in the workshop of those who are winning their bread by it."[131] In the light of his criticism, it is not surprising that Butler should counsel putting the children earlier to work than at present so as to make them self-supporting and independent sooner.[132] He is a strong advocate of the apprenticeship system for vocational training.

Like the early utopians, the modern ones shed little light on the problem of vocational guidance in the schools. The necessity of this guidance seems to be perceived only by Cabet, Bellamy, and Tarbouriech. The former provides for prevocational instruction in the elementary curriculum through lessons on the arts and trades, raw materials, utensils, and machines, and on the elements of all sciences, and through the welding of theory and practice. The children are to learn in private shops how to use the utensils of the various trades.[133]

A more elaborate scheme is proposed by Bellamy. In the first place, this scheme involves early observation of the children by parents and teachers for indications of special aptitudes. Secondly, it calls for a thorough study of the national industrial system, including the history and rudiments of all great trades. Again, it proposes the introduction of manual training so as to give the students some familiarity with the tools and methods of the national industries, mechanics, and agriculture; but without encroaching upon the general intellectual culture which is the primary aim of the school. Finally, the scheme in question includes visits to workshops and frequent and long excursions to inspect the various industrial enterprises.[134]

[130] *Erewhon*, p. 202.
[131] *Ibid.*, p. 204.
[132] *Ibid.*, p. 202.
[133] *Ibid.*, pp. 105 f.
[134] *Looking Backward*, p. 66.

Tarbouriech also feels the necessity of acquainting the young with the work of the world before they begin their vocational training. To meet that need he would introduce in the professional schools a general course designed to present a general sketch or survey of the whole field of agriculture, industry, and administration, accompanied by manual training, laboratory exercises, visits to factories, etc.[135]

In the case of the professions or more learned callings, the modern utopians insist on exceptional native and acquired qualifications for entrance. The opportunity for students of ample material means but of scant application or intellectual capacity to reach and even to graduate from the professional schools mainly because they are able to defray the cost of studies which to others are prohibitive,—that opportunity for such students is, of course, unknown in utopias. Only worthy students are engaged in professional study, and the courses pursued demand their utmost exertion.[136]

THE TEACHERS IN UTOPIAS

In their accounts of imaginary states the utopians have left a severe arraignment of the teachers in our world. Ignorance, intolerance, selfishness, glaring incompetence, low moral standards, —these are some of the counts in their indictment.[137] In view of their charges it will be well to bring together at this point the views expressed by some utopians on the character and status of professional educators in ideal commonwealths. It will be seen, in brief, that these utopians are at one in setting up high standards for the profession of teaching and in magnifying the standing of the teachers in the community.

Andreæ, who in his *Christianopolis* flays without mercy the teachers of his time, is careful to point out the conditions which, according to him, must be met by those individuals who are entrusted with the formal education of the young. They must be well advanced in years and remarkable for the virtues of dignity, integrity, activity, and generosity; they must excel in reverence towards God, in uprightness towards their neighbors, and in firmness and moderation in their own lives; they must give evidence of ability for and wisdom in their calling; and

[135] *La Cité Future*, p. 324.

[136] See, for example, Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 117; Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, p. 72; and Hertzka, *Freeland*, p. 281.

[137] See pp. 11 f.

they must attain success with their scholars, and win the approbation of the people.[138] Age, morality, professional training, and successful practice are thus included in Andreæ's catalogue of requirements.

Andreæ's early cry for exacting requirements for the teaching profession is echoed by the utopians of recent times. Owen deplores the fact that in the early part of the nineteenth century "there are not any individuals in the kingdom [England] who have been trained to instruct the rising generation, as it is for the interest and happiness of all that it should be instructed. The training of those who are to form the future man becomes a consideration of the utmost magnitude: for, on due reflection, it must appear that instruction to the young must be, of necessity, the only foundation upon which the superstructure of society can be raised." [139] Here the great English reformer evidently recognizes the necessity of professional training for teachers as a means to secure two great objectives of education, individual and collective happiness, and the safety of the community.

The value of mastery of his subject on the part of the instructor is emphasized by Fourier to the point of exaggeration. In his social organization every person is engaged in many different types of work and eventually attains theoretical or practical perfection in some field. Because of this mere fact a man is thereafter considered as a teaching functionary and may be called upon by his inferiors in knowledge, or skill to give them instruction.[140] Fourier blindly disregards the fact that knowledge of a subject or mastery of any skill does not necessarily imply ability on the part of its possessor to impart to others his skill or knowledge.

Cabet and Tarbouriech recognize, as Owen did before them, the fact that professional training is as a rule indispensable for success in teaching. The former establishes normal schools in Icaria,[141] and founds a "Journal of Education" which is distributed to the teachers in order to keep them informed concerning all discoveries and improvements that have to do with their work.[142] Through the latter measure Cabet acknowledges the

[138] *Christianopolis*, p. 207.
[139] *New View of Society*, Fourth Essay, p. 168.
[140] *Oeuvres Complètes*, V, p. 276.
[141] *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 74.
[142] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

necessity of continued professional study on the part of teachers in service.

Tarbouriech requires university training for the teachers of the Future City. It is necessary, he holds, that they should breathe for several years the scientific atmosphere of the university. Let the teachers go to the universities and take general courses simultaneously with special courses dealing with their particular fields.[143]

In return for their abilities, merits, and industry, what are the teachers' rewards in the ideal states under consideration? Again, beginning with *Christianopolis* it is found that their social standing is very high, and that often they are given access to the highest offices in the state.[144] Similarly in *Nova Solyma* the people "do not hold the schoolmasters in contempt, as so many other nations do, nor do they class them simply as superior servants who have to see chiefly that children are kept safe and do not get into mischief. On the contrary, they are classified with the chief magistrates of the nation, and especially are those schoolmasters held in honor who have charge of the young and untrained, for they are invested with the Order of the Sun." [145]

Not to be outdone by the utopian idealists who preceded him, Owen says of the teaching profession that "this is, and ought to be considered, an office of the greatest practical trust and confidence in the empire; for let this duty be well performed, and the government must proceed with ease to the people, and high gratification to those who govern." [146]

Likewise, in *Icaria,* teaching is perhaps the most honored profession because of its supreme influence on the common welfare.[147]

Finally, the educators of the rising generation share with all their fellow-citizens the welfare that in most utopias is a universal privilege. In particular are they rewarded with material and spiritual prizes commensurate with their professional capacity and high social standing. In those utopias where the social and economic organization is based on the principle of self-interest and where private property has been retained the teachers are encouraged to exert themselves to the utmost not so

[143] *La Cité Future,* p. 320.
[144] Andreæ, *Christianopolis,* p. 207.
[145] Gott, *Nova Solyma,* I, p. 234.
[146] *A New View of Society,* Fourth Essay, p. 168.
[147] Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie,* p. 74.

much by appeals to such things as their idealism, patriotism, self-denial, and sense of duty, but by high material rewards. In Freeland, for instance, the best intelligence in the land is enlisted in the teaching profession by the payment of high salaries, and no stipend is considered too high to attract and retain the brilliant teachers.[148]

[148] Hertzka, *Freeland*, pp. 160 f.

CHAPTER VII

WORK AS AN EDUCATIONAL AGENCY

Those who labor under the impression that work is a curse and Utopia an ideal world where that curse has been stamped out may be surprised to learn that as a rule nobody can escape a certain amount of work in the Utopian world. It is true, as will be presently shown, that the conditions under which people work in Utopia differ widely from working conditions in our world; but the fact remains that work is a universal obligation in ideal commonwealths.[1]

This chapter will show how the work of mankind in utopias is used as a means of education. The term work will refer here to that exertion of body or mind to which an individual is led mainly by economic motives. After pointing out how work fosters education in utopias, the account that follows will deal with the relation between work and social status, the use of native aptitude as the basis for the choice of a life career, the conflict between specialization and variety of work, the choice of and training for a vocation, and the effects of the work on the worker.

[1] "Besides agriculture, which is so common to them all, every man has some peculiar trade to which he applies himself, such as the manufacture of wool or flax, masonry, smith's work, or carpenter's work; for there is no sort of trade that is in great esteem among them." More, *Utopia*, p. 96.

"Duty and work is distributed among all." Campanella, *The City of the Sun*, p. 238.

"Sevarias (the founder of Sevarambe) decided to provide occupation for all subjects." Vayrasse, *L'Histoire des Sevarambes*, p. 235.

"Every person, according to law, is obliged to apply himself to some art or science." Berington, *Mémoires de Gaudence de Luques*, p. 250.

"All, men as well as women, without exception, practice a trade, an art or a profession determined by law." Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, pp. 100 f.

"A man will be free to be just as idle or uselessly busy as it pleases him, after he has earned the minimum wage." Wells, *A Modern Utopia*, p. 154.

"Just as science aims at a common organized body of knowledge to which all its servants contribute and in which they share, so Socialism insists upon its ideal of an organized social order which every man serves and by which every man benefits." Wells, *New Worlds for Old*, p. 24.

WORK AND EDUCATION IN OUR WORLD

The possibility of utilizing our daily work as an agency of education has usually been neglected in our world. While fortunate individuals have regarded their work as a blessing, others —perhaps the larger number—have looked upon it as a curse. Possibly due to the chaotic conditions that all too often have prevailed in the occupational world, work has been frequently defined as "something you don't want to do." Again and again work has presented an ugly and repellent aspect. Innumerable men, women, and children have been driven like slaves to do unfamiliar and uncongenial labor and the products of their exertions have gone to enrich others who have thereby been enabled to lead lives of idleness and luxury. In recent times industrial evils have multiplied as a consequence of the factory system and its concomitant division of labor. Little wonder, then, that even the essential tasks of mankind have been often performed in a half-hearted and perfunctory fashion. Little wonder that the educational possibilities inherent in work have been as a rule overlooked.

The value of work as a factor in the development of the worker, even under our partly casual and partly jerry-built industrial organization, has been realized by some students of modern industry. Thus E. H. Griggs concludes that "the problem of life-culture through the work itself is, though little recognized, even more important than that of the education equipping for the work," [2] and that "in every vocation the meaning of the work is less in the thing done than in the growth of the man through the doing." [3] And on the same subject and in the same strain says Meyer Bloomfield, a leading advocate of vocational guidance in the United States:

"Only a conception of working life as continuing education can appease the God-given hungers of youth. This is not fancy. We find successful business houses proud of the types of men and women they develop by the educational opportunities they afford their employees, and this not as charity but as fundamental good business. Developing the intelligence of the employees and satisfying their instinct for educational experience in the work they are doing has become the self-assumed duty of

[2] *Self-culture through the Vocation*, p. 11.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

the most enlightened employers. The socially imaginative business man, manufacturer, and professional man are joining hands with the progressive educator in the call for more educational returns from the wage-earning career.

"Of what use are the sacrifices made in the training and guidance of youth if the subsequent conditions of employment nullify their value? The fitting of youth for appropriate life pursuits cannot proceed without a corresponding fitness on the part of the occupations themselves. The readjustments in education will have to go hand in hand with like readjustments in the avenues of occupation. Work and school cannot be safely kept apart in a democracy. Each has a vital meaning to the other, and they must share in common the burden of fitting the coming generation for its best achievements. Alike they must share this vision and this purpose, or else vocational chaos will continue its disastrous course." [4]

WORK AND EDUCATION IN UTOPIAS

In utopias work becomes an instrumentality of education, through the short hours of labor required of the great majority of the workers.[5] This arrangement reacts upon the field of education both directly and indirectly. In the first place, it necessitates that in order to meet all the wants of the people the number of idle or misemployed individuals be reduced to a minimum and therefore that all able-bodied persons be trained for and engaged in some useful occupation.[6] Again, short hours

[4] *The Vocational Guidance of Youth*, p. 114.

[5] Sevarambe has the longest work day,—eight hours (Vayrasse, *L'Histoire des Sevarambes*, p. 235) and Altruria the shortest,—three hours (Howells, *A Traveller from Altruria*, p. 142). Six hours is the most frequently chosen amount of time for daily work. (More, *Utopia*, p. 97; Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, pp. 102 f.; Hertzka, *Visit to Freeland*, p. 47; Kirwan, *Reciprocity in the Thirtieth Century*, p. 61.) The possibility and convenience of shortening the hours of labor in our world are often affirmed by contemporary thinkers. The late C. P. Steinmetz hoped to see the work day reduced to four hours. Likewise, Bertrand Russell asserts that "with the help of science and by the elimination of the vast amount of unproductive work involved in internal and international competition, the whole community could be kept in comfort by means of four hours' work a day." *Proposed Roads to Freedom*, p. 193.

[6] Herein lies a fundamental difference between the utopian social and economic organization and ours. The utopians criticize the existence of unproductive and idle groups in society, such as the wealthy, the clergy, and the religious orders; the excessive clerks, merchants, and government officials in cities; and the beggars, tramps, loafers, and criminals of city and country. They claim that many of those who work are employed not in labors that are of real service, but in superfluous and unproductive tasks. Finally, they realize the economic loss entailed by the unemployment of women. See, for example,

foster education indirectly by increasing the amount of leisure time that all the people can devote to reading and study, to art and sport, and to the cultivation and enjoyment of social intercourse.[7]

Work is also a means of education in utopias through the humane conditions under which it is done. Provisions are made in most utopias to insure that everybody is employed in the work which best accords with his inclination and ability. Social cleavages are seldom based on the type of work in which people are engaged, all trades and professions as a rule being rated as equally worth in dignity. Trivial tasks and childish luxuries of doubtful value to the community are eliminated, and in the field of production the only articles made are those which are really needed, and they are supplied solely in quantities sufficient to meet the people's wants.

Here and there other practices appear which are intended to alleviate the burdens of work and to increase its satisfactions. The workers may be made familiar with all phases of the work in which they are engaged, and which thereby becomes more meaningful and enjoyable to them.[8] Worthy incentives to effort and worthy rewards to success may be provided.[9] Changes of occupation may be looked upon as desirable and consequently made easy. The workers may be paid, not by fixed wages, but by a share in the produce of their labor.[10]

Finally, work is used in Utopia as a means of education through the principle of compulsory labor service, which requires that all citizens be engaged for a certain period, preferably in their youth, in some public service characterized as a rule by hardship and unpleasantness. This principle is first applied in More's *Utopia,* where the inhabitants of the cities are sent by turns to the country to engage in agricultural work for a period of two years,[11] having previously been trained in agriculture from their childhood, "partly by what they learn at school, and partly

More, *Utopia,* pp. 98 f.; Mercier, *L'An Deux Mille Qautre Cent Quarante,* I, p. 125; Howells, *A Traveller from Altruria,* p. 62; Morris, *News from Nowhere,* p. 134; France, *The White Stone,* pp. 216 f.

[7] Campanella, *The City of the Sun,* p. 238; Howells, *A Traveller from Altruria,* pp. 62 f.; Kirwan, *Reciprocity in the Thirtieth Century,* p. 61; Wells, *A Modern Utopia,* pp. 154 f.

[8] Andreæ, *Christianopolis,* p. 154; Hertzka, *Freeland,* pp. 232 f.

[9] See pp. 154 ff.

[10] T. B. Russell, *A Hundred Years Hence,* p. 51.

[11] *Utopia,* pp. 90 f.

by practice." [12] As Held has pointed out,[13] this proposal of More's is a consequence of his acceptance of the principle of communism and aims at the abundant provision of the necessaries of life.

The principle of compulsory labor is extended by Morelly so as to include not only agricultural work, but also the building trades. He proposes that all citizens, unless physically incapacitated, be required to engage at the age of from twenty to twenty-five in the activities above mentioned either as farmers, gardeners, laborers, etc., or as carpenters, masons, blacksmiths and in other trades related to building construction.[14]

Morelly's idea was reflected during the last period of the French Revolution by François Babeuf, a pioneer Utopian Socialist whose brief and stormy career ended on the scaffold in 1797. As a means of preventing a surfeit of labor for certain classes, Babeuf and his followers would charge in turn all able-bodied citizens with the more repulsive occupations, "the disagreeableness of which, it was hoped, would be progressively but rapidly diminished by a masculine education and by the assistance of mechanism, and the chemical and physical sciences in general." [15]

Bellamy applies the principle of compulsory labor in his utopia through the creation of a class of unskilled or common laborers, to which all prospective workers belong for the first three years of service, before they are allowed to choose a special vocation.[16]

Likewise, Rathenau would establish a year of labor service to be devoted by the young of both sexes to bodily training and work.[17]

What would be the educational consequences of the application of the principle of compulsory labor service? It may be safely inferred from the preceding account that the practice in question would (1) develop the sense of civic obligation and such civic virtues as obedience and devotion to duty; (2) promote social justice and solidarity; (3) serve as a means of orientation in the choice of a vocation; (4) develop the body and mind of

[12] *Utopia*, p. 96.
[13] In his Introduction to Andreæ's *Christianopolis*, p. 22.
[14] *Code de la Nature*, p. 89.
[15] Buonarroti, F. M., *Histoire de la Conspiration pour l'Egalité, dite de Babeuf*, vol. I, pp. 211 f.
[16] *Looking Backward*, p. 70.
[17] *The New Society*, p. 117.

the young; and (5) knock out the conceit of the young and give them a just appreciation of the conditions of life.

William James was a vigorous advocate of just such a period of compulsory labor service as proposed by the utopians referred to above. His idea was that such service would be a substitute for war's disciplinary function, a moral equivalent of war [18] and the only means whereby the martial virtues, the discipline of war and military service, can be retained without actually resorting to armed conflicts.[19] "If now, and this is my idea," says Professor James, "there were, instead of military conscription a conscription of the whole youthful population to form for a certain number of years a part of the army enlisted against *Nature*, the injustice [of the inequality of earthly possessions and welfare] would tend to be evened out, and numerous other goods to the commonwealth would follow. The military ideas of hardihood and discipline would be wrought into the growing fiber of the people; no one would remain blind, as the luxurious classes are now blind, to man's relations to the globe he lives on, and to the permanently sour and hard foundations of his higher life. To coal and iron mines, to freight trains, to fishing fleets in December, to dish-washing and window-washing, to road-building and tunnel-making, to foundries and stoke-holes, and to the frames of skyscrapers, would our gilded youths be drafted off, according to their choice, to get the childishness knocked out of them, and to come back into society with healthier sympathies and soberer ideas. They would have paid their blood-tax, done their own part in the immemorial human warfare against nature; they would tread the earth more proudly, the women would value them more highly, they would be better fathers and teachers of the following generation." [20]

WORK AND SOCIAL STATUS

Not only the period of compulsory labor but work in general is a promoter of social solidarity in utopias, or at least is not an impediment to it. Among both the early and the modern utopians are found exponents of the principle that the occupation of the individual should not be the decisive factor in determining his

[18] *Memories and Studies*, p. 283. New York, 1912.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 287 f.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 290 f.

status in society.[21] The most ardent advocates of this principle are Cabet and Bellamy, who, more than anybody else among the utopians, stress their demand for equality. Their ideal states recognize no difference in dignity between the various types of labor. Cabet holds that intelligence and genius are merely gifts of nature, that reason and society should redress the inequality produced by blind chance, and that the man of superior ability is fully rewarded by the satisfaction that he derives from its exercise.[22] According to Bellamy, all work is done for the sake of the nation, which serves all and is in turn served by all. No difference is recognized between the waiter's functions, for instance, and those of any other worker.[23]

A consequence of the equality of social status is that culture is widespread, and people engaged in the trades associate freely in the pursuit of avocational interests with members of the professions. "To discover how great the difference is, one need merely attend a social reunion in Freeland," says Hertzka. "It is natural, of course, that persons belonging to the same circle of interests should most readily associate together; but this must not be supposed to imply the existence of anything even remotely like a breaking up of society into different professional strata. The common level of culture is so high, interest in the most exalted problems of humanity so general, even among the manual laborers, that savants, artists, heads of the government, find innumerable points of contact, both intellectual and esthetic, even with factory hands and agricultural laborers." [24]

[21] Andreæ, *Christianopolis*, p. 157; Gott, *Nova Solyma*, I, pp. 238 f.; Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 101; Bulwer-Lytton, *The Coming Race*, pp. 84 and 146; Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, p. 157; Howells, *A Traveller from Altruria*, p. 220; Hertzka, *Freeland*, pp. 138 f. and 282.

[22] *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 101.

[23] *Looking Backward*, p. 157. Mr. Bertrand Russell has recently expressed a view similar to Cabet's and Bellamy's. Under socialism, says Mr. Russell, "there would be no need to pay doctors more highly than laborers because, probably, a sufficient number of people would prefer a doctor's life to a laborer's. There would be more likelihood of medical ability in men who had chosen this profession because they liked the work than in men whose qualifications and ambitions are largely financial. Doctors would not be thought superior to laborers but merely men with different tastes. Both are necessary to the community and therefore both are deserving of respect, but not one more than the other." "Socialism and Education," *Harpers Magazine*, Sept., 1925, p. 415.

[24] *Freeland*, p. 282. This social amalgamation based on non-vocational interests has recently been advocated in his educational anticipation of Gopher Prairie in the year 2000 by Professor David Snedden, who says: "In a true democracy the fact that one man is by vocation a farmer, another a dentist, another a high school teacher of mathematics, another a bricklayer, and another a grocer need have no distinguishing effects upon their non-vocational interests

However, this lack of a direct correlation between an individual's type of work, on the one hand, and his avocational activities and social status, on the other, is not a universal condition in the Utopian world. Particularly in some of the early utopias work and social rank are closely related. Such is obviously the case in Plato's Republic, where society is divided into three classes,—the artisan class, the auxiliaries, and the guardians,—the artisans being entirely deprived of the privileges of a formal education and participation in the government of the state. In fact, as Adamson points out,[25] education is given in the Republic as the preparation of each class, so that all may work harmoniously together and produce justice in the state.

There is a reflection of the Platonic view of the incompatibility of manual toil with high intellectual activity in More's *Utopia*, where "sometimes a mechanic, that so employs his leisure hours as to make considerable advancement in learning is eased from being a tradesman, and ranked among their learned men." [26] Evidently More conceives of manual work as a burden, the victims of which can be freed by being promoted to the rank of head-workers!

NATIVE APTITUDE AS THE BASIS FOR THE CHOICE OF A LIFE CAREER

Among the humane conditions that render work acceptable and attractive in utopias mention has been made of the fact that as a rule the workers base their choice of work on their natural inclination and ability. Such choice is facilitated in several utopias by another circumstance just pointed out; namely, the fact that the individual's occupation does not determine his avocations and social status.

The latter condition, as already shown, does not obtain in Plato's Republic. The first condition—selection of life work in accordance with native inclination and ability—is accepted by Plato as regards the two governing classes, but rejected in the case of the industrial class, which is entirely excluded from consideration in the Greek idealist's political and educational scheme. For the children of the auxiliaries and the guardians,

and pursuits. For it is these, chiefly, that embody and reflect what is here called culture." The term culture as used by Professor Snedden covers few of the interests commonly associated with vocational pursuits. "Gopher Prairie, A. D., 2000," *School and Society*, XVIII (1923), pp. 213 f.

[25] *The Theory of Education in Plato's "Republic,"* p. 18.

[26] *Utopia*, pp. 99 f.

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education is truly a process intended to ascertain the bent of the individual and to prepare him for a calling in keeping with his native traits. The guardians are given the power to degrade their own offspring when inferior and to elevate into the rank of guardians the children of the lower class when naturally superior. "The intention was," says Plato, "that in the case of the citizens generally, each individual should be put to the use for which nature intended him, one to one work, and then every man would do his own business, and be one and not many; and so the whole city would be one and not many." [27] In order to further this process the children are, among other things, led to observe closely the activities of their elders in peace and war.[28]

Plato's successors in the realm of utopias have repeatedly insisted on the necessity of training the individual for work that will satisfy his native inclinations. In the simple domestic economy depicted in More's *Utopia* a son generally follows his father's trade; but if his genius leads him another way, he is allowed full freedom of choice.[29] In Andreæ's *Christianopolis* the students devote a part of their time to manual training and domestic art and science, the reason given for this type of work being that "each one's occupation is assigned according to his natural inclination." [30] Similarly, in Campanella's *City of the Sun* the workers are chosen from childhood "according to their inclination and the star under which they were born, therefore each one working according to his natural propensity does his duty well and pleasantly, because naturally." [31] Harrington in his *Oceana* advocates the same procedure, although implying that the children of the masses will be restricted in their choice of life work to certain fields. In Oceana if the young are not to pursue higher studies, they must begin to work at the age of fifteen; "but what is left, according to their abilities or inclination, at their own choice. This, with the multitude, must be to the mechanics, that is to say, to agriculture or husbandry, to manufactures, or to merchandise." [32]

The utopians of modern times have also advocated the view

[27] *The Republic*, Book IV, pp. 111 f.
[28] *Ibid.*, *Book* VII, pp. 240 f.
[29] *Utopia*, p. 97.
[30] *Christianopolis*, p. 210.
[31] *City of the Sun*, p. 245.
[32] *Oceana*, p. 177.

that the work done by the individual should suit his native interests and ability. In Bellamy's scheme one of the principles on which the industrial army is organized is that a man's natural endowments, mental and physical, determine what he can work at most profitably to the nation and most satisfactorily to himself.[33] The education given to the individual, we are told, must needs bring to light whatever aptitudes a man has, and neither social prejudice nor mercenary considerations hamper him in his choice of life work.[34]

William Morris in his *News from Nowhere* asserts that among the conditions under which all work done in his utopia is an exercise of body and mind more or less pleasant to be done is the fact that there is no difficulty in finding work which suits the special turn of mind of everybody, so that no man is sacrificed to the wants of another.[35]

Finally, H. G. Wells in discussing the education of his Men like Gods stresses the importance of directing the individual to work indicated by his desires and capacity, and of allowing him full freedom of occupational choice.[36] Work, in the sense of uncongenial toil, adds Mr. Wells, has almost disappeared from Utopia. Yet everybody is working; everybody is doing work that fits his natural appetites and appeals to his imagination.[37]

SPECIALIZATION VERSUS DIVERSIFIED TRAINING

The Principle of Variety of Work

While the consensus of opinion among the utopians is that the life career of a man should be based upon his native aptitudes, there is less agreement among them in regard to the individual's ability to engage equally well in work activities of diverse character. On this point—and here is a paradox of utopian literature—the early utopians and their modern successors are as a rule on opposite sides. In past epochs, when the principle of the division of labor was far from being applied in industry to the extent prevalent to-day in the most advanced countries, prominent utopians advocated that principle. Conversely, in

[33] *Looking Backward*, p. 65.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 137. See also p. 87 above.
[35] *News from Nowhere*, p. 134.
[36] See p. 68 above.
[37] *Men Like Gods*, pp. 267 f.

our times, when specialization is rampant in the field of industry, the latest makers of utopias would limit its influence, probably because they are aware, as already pointed out,[38] of its harmful effects upon the worker under the present organization of industry.

With Plato and Campanella—to mention only two of the best-known utopian pioneers—the division of labor is a fundamental principle of the economic and political organization. "We must infer," says Plato, "that all things are produced more plentifully and easily and of a better quality when one man does one thing which is natural to him and does it at the right time, and leaves other things." [39] This consideration, among others, leads him to divide his citizens into classes and to put each individual "to the use for which nature intended him, one to one work," this arrangement culminating, as is well known, in a class of philosophers in whom is vested the government of the state.

Campanella also insists on expertness as the indispensable condition for the possession of authority. The magistrates of the City of the Sun are elected each to that duty in which he has excelled from boyhood,[40] and even the members of the triumvirate who share the government of the commonwealth with the head of the state are experts only in those fields entrusted to their direction.[41] A peculiar arrangement exists in the industrial field; for here "every one is judged by the first master of his trade, and thus all the head artificers are judges. They punish with exile, with flogging, with blame, with deprivation of the common table, with exclusion from the church and from the company of women." [42]

However, Campanella recognizes the value of the possession of expertness in various fields by an individual, and gives such an individual a high rank in his ideal commonwealth. His Utopians "consider him the more renowned who has dedicated himself to the study of the most arts and knows how to practice them wisely." [43] The knowledge of many arts and sciences endows the individual with ingenuity, with varied aptitudes, and therefore with ability to rule. "He who knows only one science,

[38] See p. 32.
[39] *The Republic*, Book II, p. 50.
[40] *The City of the Sun*, p. 226.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 230.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 254.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 228.

does not really know that or the others, and he who is suited for only one science and has gathered his knowledge from books, is unlearned and unskilled." Accordingly the chief magistrate of the nation should be the possessor of an intellect "prompt and expert in every branch of knowledge," and his ministers should be not only the masters of their special fields, but also the possessors of at least a historical knowledge of those branches which are common to all.[44]

The modern utopians are aware of the economic importance of the division of labor, but they keenly realize its dangers. Therefore they advance proposals intended to retain the advantages of specialization while at the same time doing away with the physical and intellectual injuries so often inflicted upon the workers through its operation.

In this attempt to harmonize the conflicting claims of specialization, on the one hand, and of varied training and ability, on the other, the utopians have sensed a need also felt by other students of modern society. Division of labor and variety of work are both imperative; the former is here to stay, the latter must also prevail for the good of mankind. How will man destroy this antinomy? How will these seemingly antagonistic principles be reconciled and simultaneously applied? This is a problem for which the modern utopians endeavor to provide a solution.[45]

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 230.

[45] A forceful discussion of this problem is contributed by H. P. Vowles in an essay on "The Tradition of the Great State"—the Great State, that is, the world-wide society of the future as envisaged by Mr. Vowles and other social thinkers. Mr. Vowles discusses the relation between specialization and variety of work in a passage which is worth quoting at this point. He says: "Granting that in the Great State each citizen will be brought into contact with the broadening influence of a catholic tradition, it is possible there will be no specialists at all in the ordinary sense of the word. That there may be a degree of specialization in certain lives is quite probable. Not only has knowledge grown beyond the possibilities of individual intellectual grasp, but always there are men who at an early age show predilections for a certain class of work; and in so far as they excel in that work they will, no doubt, be specialists. But this need not involve, as it so often involves now, the atrophy of all those possibilities of development not brought to bear on the matter immediately in hand. A man will be able to specialize and yet remain a man. The tradition of his time and education, the new tradition of the Great State, will have fitted him to tackle widely different classes of work; and even if he devoted his life to one field of narrowed limits determined by his capacity, he will still have a sympathetic understanding of those activities which lie beyond his self-imposed range.

"With the normal run of humanity, however, it seems probable that change of work from time to time will give the best results for both the individual in happiness and for the community in product. It is extremely doubtful whether any man is a good and happy specialist all his life, any more than he can always be a good and happy lover. Even a lifetime wholly of work, albeit

Among the most notable utopian plans for the reconciliation of the principle of division of labor with that of diversified training and work are those proposed by Hertzka, Tarbouriech, Sweven, and Rathenau, all of which are characterized by the advocacy of simultaneous intellectual and physical activity for the individual. One and all, these schemes stand for a diversified training which will enable the individual to turn with ease from one thing to another, thus introducing variety in his work and leisure activities.

Hertzka, as already indicated,[46] would give in industrial and commercial schools the training needed for entrance into the various fields of industry and commerce, the purpose being to give each worker a thorough knowledge of his special branch—of its technique, its history, its present status—and also to provide for freer choice of opportunity through the worker's ability to engage in several fields of endeavor. "The mere spinner," says Hertzka, "who has nothing to do but to watch the movements of his spindles, in Freeland understands the construction and the practical working of everything connected with his industry, and knows what are the sources whence it derives its materials and where its best markets are; from which it follows that when the functionaries of his association are to be elected, the worker is guided in voting by his technical knowledge, and it is almost impossible that the choice should fall upon any but the best qualified persons. But, further, this simple spinner in Freeland is no mere automaton, whose knowledge and skill begin and end with the petty details of his own business: he is familiar with at least one or several other branches of industry; and from

enlightened and enlarged by repeated changes of occupation, will probably be considered as regrettable in the Great State. To work, as to love, is but a phase in man's development. A balanced attitude towards life demands lengthy intervals of leisure, time for travel and recreation, periods devoted to thought and exercise, days of solitude and contemplation. Stevenson has pointed out that extreme *busyness* is a symptom of deficient vitality, and that a faculty for idleness—as opposed to the exercise of some conventional occupation—implies a catholic appetite and a strong sense of personal identity. This is profoundly true; and to concentrate the whole or even the greater part of a lifetime on any one aspect of life to the complete or partial neglect of all others is a waste of potentialities and by so much essentially a failure to live." H. G. Wells and others, *The Great State, Essays in Construction*, pp. 373 ff.

It will be noted that Mr. Vowles recognizes the inevitability of a certain degree of specialization because of the growth of knowledge and because of individual inclinations and limitations; but he also shows the possibility and need of providing variety of training and activity. On this question the consensus of opinion among the modern utopians agrees with Mr. Vowles and other progressive social thinkers.

[46] See p. 84.

this again it follows that the man can take advantage of any favorable circumstance that may occur in such other branch or branches of industry, and can exchange the plough for the loom, the turning-lathe for the hammer, or even any of these for the writing desk or the countinghouse; and by this means there can be brought about that marvellous equilibrium in the most diverse sources of income which is the foundation of the social order of the country." [47]

A reason for the fact that in Freeland lines of social cleavage are not coincident with those which bound the various fields of industry [48] is the absence of a rigid classification of workers into headworkers and handworkers. "The manual laborer of to-day may to-morrow, by the choice of his fellow-laborers, become a director of labor, therefore a headworker; and, on the other hand, there are among the manual laborers untold thousands who were originally elected to different callings, and who have gone through the studies required for such callings, but have exchanged the pen for the tool, either because they found themselves not perfectly qualified intellectually, or because their tastes have changed." [49]

Furthermore, at all times there are in Freeland large numbers of persons who voluntarily combine some kind of manual labor with intellectual work. Arrangements have to be made which will allow individuals engaged in the professions, in business, and in clerical work, to spend some time in manual occupations. The greater part of these workers seek temporary change of occupation for several months once in every two or three years as factory hands, mines, agriculturists, gardeners, etc.[50]

Tarbouriech, in his scheme of vocational education in the schools, advocates, not the training of the students for a trade pure and simple, but their preparation for all phases of an industry, or even for a group of related industries, such as mining and metallurgy, the chemical industries, and the building trades.[51] The young will prepare themselves for the practice, not of one occupation only, but of several occupations; for it is necessary to facilitate the organization of small groups through the combination of several functions in an individual and to make pos-

[47] *Freeland*, pp. 232 f.
[48] See p. 98.
[49] *Freeland*, p. 282.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 283.
[51] *La Cité Future*, p. 324.

sible the sudden changes in the relative importance of services economic or otherwise through the interchangeability of personnel. When the community has no urgent need for their work the young will be encouraged or even compelled to prolong their studies in educational institutions that will prepare each for service in diverse fields of human endeavor.[52]

Sweven looks upon the division of labor as the main factor in bringing about a great era of external achievement in his utopia; but he would allow no one to fall into specialization to such an extent as to atrophy all but one set of faculties and energies. From the absorbing pursuit of ethical improvement, on the one hand, and from the excessive athletic development, on the other hand, the Limanorans had concluded that variety of occupation was a first essential of mental and bodily health; that exclusive devotion to the improvement of any part of the human system induced disease both of mind and body; and that morality and health are best cultivated as indirect means of individual experience.

Accordingly, the Limanorans require some daily or weekly exercise of all parts of the body and mind. Their elders map out the various types of intellectual and physical work from which a man or a woman might select for his or her leisure time. Ample opportunity is given to choose from among work activities dissimilar to the individual's special employment.[53] To every family is assigned a special department of civilization for cultivation; but to prevent narrowness of views in its members a period of their youth is devoted to a bird's-eye view of the departments of human knowledge and progress.[54] In later life each individual is assigned an external task that draws the thought away from his self the greater part of the day and is expected to achieve every day something unconnected with himself.[55]

The most recent plan calling for diversification of training and work in order to relieve the evils of specialization is put forward by Rathenau in his *New Society*. "The bringing of Mind into the masses, the cultured State," says Rathenau, "which is the only possible foundation of a society worthy of humanity, must remain unattainable until everything conceivable has been

[52] *La Cité Future*, p. 325.
[53] *Limanora*, pp. 560 f.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 560 f.

thought out and done to alleviate the mischievous operation of this evil [mechanical work], which dulls and stupefies the human spirit and which, in itself, is ineradicable." [56]

In order to achieve the desired ideal of bringing Mind into labor, a consummation which would result in the elimination of forced labor, in culture for the masses and in social equilibrium, the New Society must of necessity, according to Rathenau, resort to the principle of the Interchange of Labor, that is, to the exchange and association of mental and mechanical employment.[57] This principle requires "that every employee engaged in mechanical work can claim to do a portion of his day's work in intellectual employment; and that every brain-worker shall be obliged to devote a portion of his day to physical labor." [58] Rathenau admits that "there are, of course, fixed limits to the application of this principle, on the one side in intellectual, on the other in bodily incapacity, as well as in those rare cases where it is recognized that the interrupted hours of intellectual work cannot be made good." [59] But he optimistically believes that the alleged advantages of the plan will by far outweigh its limitations. For one thing, there will grow up an intimate sense of association within each grade of culture. This sense of association will not be a danger to social solidarity because of the absence of hereditary family egoism and it will dissolve all vestiges of the hereditary sentiment because of its renewal with elements that vary from generation to generation and because of its absorption of whatever traditional values the hereditary sentiment may possess. For another thing, "between the separate grades of culture there will not only be the connection afforded by living possibilities of free ascent from one to other, but the system of ever-renewed coöperation in the rank and file at the same work will in itself promote culture, tradition and consciousness of union." Again, there will be accord and mutual assistance between workers in diverse fields of activity. The mechanical worker and the intellectual worker will instruct and emulate each other, and thus each will widen his individual outlook.[60] The different callings will learn to know and respect each other, and to understand their respective difficulties.[61]

[56] *The New Society*, pp. 113 f.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 116.
[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 116 f.
[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 121 f.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

CHANGE OF OCCUPATION AS A MEANS TO OFFSET THE EVILS OF SPECIALIZATION

The plans just sketched, intended for the relief of the evils of specialization, are characterized by a high degree of complexity. Simpler suggestions intended not only for that purpose, but to meet as well other needs economic, social, and psychological, are advanced by other utopians of modern times.

The simple acquisition of more than one trade by each individual is defended for economic reasons by two utopians. Bellamy asserts that such procedure will enable a man to find reasonably congenial employment in case he is prevented from following his first choice of vocation because of the progress of invention or changes in demand.[62] Tarbouriech asserts that this practice will facilitate the regulation of the industrial output since it will be possible to expand or curtail instantaneously this or that industry or service if the workers are easily interchangeable among the various fields of enterprise.[63]

Social reasons for variety of training and work are advanced by Howells and Tarbouriech. In Howells' Altruria nothing is called work that is not done with the hands. Intellectual activities or executive functions are not work for the Altrurians, and are not honored like work with the hands. The former, however valuable, do not equalize the burden of manual work and may, if unduly honored, compel some individuals to carry an excessive share of the latter. Moreover, people must work with their hands willingly, in the artistic spirit, and cannot do this unless they know that others differently gifted are likewise working with their hands.[64] In the case of exceptional merit and also for the purpose of allowing artists, scientists, and men of letters to complete a piece of work requiring continuous application, permission may be given by the local government agents releasing an individual indefinitely from the obligatory work.[65]

Tarbouriech recommends that as a measure of social expediency the young be trained in several trades or professions. The period of time available for vocational training and apprenticeship between the young people's completion of their academic education and their subsequent entrance into a field of work is

[62] *Looking Backward*, p. 69.
[63] *La Cité Future*, p. 317.
[64] *Through the Eye of the Needle*, pp. 176 f.
[65] *A Traveller from Altruria*, p. 220.

too long for training in only one profession or trade and is therefore to be devoted by each boy or girl to learn several trades or occupations, either successively or simultaneously,—a plan which, according to its author, should be adopted also for economic and psychological considerations.

Several psychological reasons are given in favor of the principles of diversified training and work. Pleasure, change of environment, mental and physical health, would be the result of that practice, as implied in Morris' *News from Nowhere* from reference to individual cases.[66] In haymaking work, for instance, "there is room for a great many people who are not overskilled in country matters, and there are many who lead sedentary lives whom it would be unkind to deprive of their pleasure in the hayfield,—scientific men and close students generally." [67]

Tarbouriech looks upon variety of training and work as the best means to prevent the brutalization of the worker through the system of division of labor so well perfected under the present industrial organization. The possession of several trades will enable the worker, if need be, to pass easily from one to another.[68]

In Limanora, says Sweven, the only reason for muscular pursuits is that the intellect and the imagination may be relaxed and the higher energy reinforced. The waste caused by mental exertion must be carried off by the reposeful exercise of the lower and more physical organs.[69]

One of the best arguments in favor of the principle of variety of work, an argument based on the recognition of a generally prevalent, but also generally disregarded, phenomenon among mankind, is advanced by H. G. Wells and H. P. Vowles. "It seems to the present writer," says Mr. Vowles, "that there is a certain cycle of efficiency for the average human being. Every man's development as a worker appears to follow some law of accumulation and fatigue which involves first a period of interest combined with a certain lack of dexterity, then an interval of maximum interest and maximum efficiency, followed at length by a decline towards routine." [70] Mr. Wells fully agrees with this view, and goes on to say that "The Great State will regard changes in occupation as a proper circumstance in the life of

[66] *News from Nowhere*, pp. 19 and 84.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 271.
[68] *La Cité Future*, p. 317.
[69] *Limanora*, pp. 26 f.
[70] H. G. Wells and others, *The Great State, Essays in Construction*, pp. 374 f.

every citizen; it will value a certain amateurishness in its service, and prefer it to the trite omniscience of the stale official." [71]

THE PROS AND CONS OF VARIETY OF WORK

It will be well to summarize at this point the reasons advanced by the utopians in favor of the principle of variety of work and to present the objections that have been raised to this principle in at least one work of utopian character.

The arguments in favor of variety of work are as follows:

(1) It promotes the development of both body and mind by doing away with the one-sided development which often is the result of extreme division of labor.

(2) It facilitates the regulation of the output of industry and makes for industrial equilibrium. The versatility of the workers mitigates the effects of changes in the field of industry through the combination of several functions in an individual and through the consequent ease of industrial organization.

(3) It fosters social solidarity through the interchange of workers, especially between fields of intellectual and manual activity; through the assistance rendered to one another by workers in diverse fields; through the consequent understanding of the difficulties to be faced in the various occupations; and through the wider distribution of the burden of manual work.

(4) It is in accord with human nature because it avoids the staleness to which most people fall victims when engaged for a long period of time in the same occupation.

(5) It is desirable *per se* (variety is the spice of life) and because it produces pleasure and brings about changes of environment.

On the other hand, the advocacy of variety of work finds a most vigorous refutation in *Towards Utopia*, an anonymous work published under the pen name of Free Lance. The author, as the early utopians, believes that the intellectually gifted men should do nothing but intellectual labor while their less favored brethren do their share of the manual work.[72] Specialization is defended

[71] H. G. Wells and others, *The Great State, Essays in Construction*, p. 41.

[72] John Ruskin, whose sympathy for the masses of mankind cannot be questioned, was of the opinion that, in general, handwork and brain work are incompatible. "Here we have at last an inevitable distinction," said Ruskin in a lecture on work. "There *must* be work done by the arms, or none of us could live. There *must* be work done by the brains, or the life we get would not be worth having. And the same men cannot do both. There is rough work to be

because of its economy of time, its recognition of the individual differences in ability among men, and its prevention of the esthetic and hedonistic loss to the community that would ensue if artists were compelled to devote a part of their time to manual labor.[73] Assigning more than one trade or profession to a man is looked upon as a preposterous practice. It would bring trouble to the individual because often he would be wanted in one capacity in one place and at the same time in another capacity in another place. In the work of the world far more hand-workers are wanted than headworkers, a condition that would complicate the problem of the distribution of positions, offices, and other places in the occupational world under the practice in question. Again, mankind cannot afford to waste genius, and if a man has a genius for a special line of work it would be an utter folly to compel him to devote only a part of his time to his favorite field while busying himself during the remainder of his working hours with tasks that can be as efficiently performed by individuals not endowed with any special gifts. Furthermore, the learning of more than one trade or profession would materially decrease the time that the individual can devote to genuine "living," that is, to enjoying himself intellectually, esthetically, and physically. Finally, the scheme of diversified work would involve, or at least subject society to the risk of, an excessive governmental supervision, interference, and coercion.[74]

This argument is partly met by Rathenau in his *New Society*. To the allegation that there are more places in manual than in intellectual employment Rathenau replies that all work is tending more and more to take on an administrative character; that the economic life is working itself out through thousands upon thousands of new organizations; and that the administrative side of the future economic and national life demands the creation of so many positions of intellectual labor that at present there is not the trained personnel to fill them. To the argument that frequent changes of work by the workers, brief periods of labor, untimely interruptions, and constant rearrangement would result in endless confusion, Rathenau opposes the assertion that all these are a part of the price to be paid for the elimination of

done, and rough men must do it; there is gentle work to be done, and gentlemen must do it; and it is physically impossible that one class should do, or divide, the work of the other." *Crown of Wild Olive*, pp. 54 f.

[73] *Towards Utopia*, pp. 88 f.

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 90 f. and 93.

the evils of specialization. Work done, as it were, under military discipline will cease. Organic unsettlements will finally lead to systematic production and the new practices to ultimate redemption.[75]

VOCATIONAL CHOICE AND TRAINING

The utopians realize that the wise choice of a vocation and the full development of skill therefor are matters of great importance to the individual and to society. But in general the early and modern utopians are at odds regarding the procedure that should be followed in training the individual for his life work. The former usually advocate the system of apprenticeship whereas the latter tend to use the school as an agency for vocational training, the views of each group being to a great extent determined, as pointed out before,[76] by the contemporary economic organization. Among the early utopians Campanella, alone, provides vocational guidance under school conditions,[77] while only Gott establishes trade schools, which are intended for the children of the poor.[78] On the other hand, among the modern utopians, Butler, alone, advocates the apprenticeship system of vocational training as the exclusive avenue for entrance into the trades.[79]

As already shown, the utopians emphasize the convenience of using the individual's native inclinations as the basis for his choice of a life career. Here and there they suggest how the prospective worker can be guided in making his selection. It will be remembered, for instance, that Plato would have the children observe their elders at work as closely as possible,[80] whereas among the early modern utopians Andreæ and Campanella make provisions for prevocational training intended to guide the young in their occupational choice.[81] More recently Cabet, Bellamy, and Tarbouriech have put forward schemes of vocational guidance based on the school as the main agency for such guidance.[82]

The last three utopians mentioned above are explicit in re-

[75] *The New Society*, pp. 122 f.
[76] See pp. 32, 83 f., and 101 f.
[77] See p. 83.
[78] See p. 83.
[79] See pp. 86 f.
[80] See pp. 99 f.
[81] See pp. 83 and 100.
[82] See pp. 85 ff.

gard to the procedure to be followed in choosing a vocation. In Cabet's Icaria the government, which through its statistical service knows the number of workers needed for each trade or vocation, publishes each year for a period of ten days an enumeration of the workers wanted in each field and invites the young people to choose. If there is competition for entrance into any trade or profession, the individuals concerned must take competitive examinations and constitute themselves into a jury to decide who are the best qualified candidates.[83]

In Bellamy's utopia, as already stated, all new workers must first serve for three years as common laborers. Not until after this period is a young man allowed to choose his vocation. The individual is given complete freedom of choice between brain work and handwork. If he chooses the former, he is provided with facilities for testing the effectiveness of his choice and, if fit, he receives the necessary training. The policy of the commonwealth is to encourage all citizens to develop those suspected talents the reality of which can only be proven by the test of experience.[84]

Tarbouriech proposes that in his Future City the children themselves in the order determined by their scholastic records choose their vocations, except in the cases when the school authorities will exercise their right to provide for the obvious needs of the community by decisions taken *ex officio*. Members or delegates of the medico-judicial court will examine the young people to determine whether certain trades or professions should be avoided in individual cases on account of the candidate's physical constitution or whether certain precautions should be taken to safeguard his health after he begins his career as a worker.[85]

Relatively little has been said by the utopians regarding the actual vocational training. For centuries before the inception of the present system of capitalistic-machine production, entrance into the field of industry was made through a formal system of apprenticeship, a condition which also obtained to a great extent in the professions. Apparently the early utopians looked upon this practice as satisfactory and were not opposed to its adoption in their ideal states. Hence proposals intended to help

[83] Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 106.
[84] *Looking Backward*, pp. 70 ff.
[85] *La Cité Future*, pp. 315 f.

the young in their vocational training are few and far between in the early utopias. Such are More's granting of the right to learn a second trade, Campanella's plan for prevocational guidance, and Gott's proposal of trade schools for the children of the poor.

With the dominance of the factory system in the industrial world the apprenticeship system broke down. This circumstance, combined with other changes of enormous magnitude in the structure of society, has multiplied, as previously indicated,[86] the difficulties of the problem of choosing, preparing for, and entering upon an occupation. New avenues of approach to the occupational world had to be found, and it should not be a matter of surprise that the utopians of our times found them through the public school. A preceding section of this study [87] has shown how several utopians would use the public school in their ideal states as a means for vocational education.

EFFECTS OF AN IDEAL ORGANIZATION OF LABOR UPON THE WORKER AND HIS WORK

Here and there throughout their schemes the utopians have pointed out the effects of an ideal organization of labor upon the worker and his work. They have held that under ideal labor conditions the mere ministration to the common needs of mankind and the preparation for them are accepted as work fit for the best of the race; that the danger of class conflicts because of social injustice is removed; that the temptations to perfunctory performance of work are avoided, largely because work is done not for somebody else's profit, but for one's own pleasure or for the general good; that health of body and mind will be safeguarded by an adequate balance of work and leisure, the worker's efficiency being thus maintained on a high level; and that work is, whenever possible, dedicated to beauty, often done in an atmosphere of joy, and always as a civic obligation.

CONCLUSION

The preceding pages have shown the conditions that have made possible the effects just enumerated. The work day, as measured by our standards, is short in utopias, this circumstance necessitating that all able-bodied individuals be engaged in some

[86] See pp. 83 f.
[87] Pp. 84 ff.

occupation, except in very exceptional cases, and at the same time increasing the leisure available for all the people. Work is done under humane conditions. It is determined as far as possible by the individual's inclinations and ability. It neither determines nor affects his social status. It is rationally promoted through the elimination of trivial or useless tasks, through the worker's knowledge of all its phases, and through worthy incentives and provisions for change of occupation. Finally, the principle of compulsory labor service teaches the lesson of work as a civic duty and promotes social justice and solidarity.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COMMUNITY AS AN EDUCATIONAL AGENCY

Preceding chapters have shown how three basic institutions of society, namely, the home, the church and the school, as well as the everyday work of the world, subserve the cause of education in ideal commonwealths. This chapter will in turn deal with the Utopian community as an educational agency. In keeping with the comprehensive sense in which the term community has been used above,[1] the pages that follow will discuss the educational influence of the Utopian social atmosphere in general, of its omnifarious social aggregations, of its governmental agencies, and of a number of institutions not previously considered, such as the press and the theater, which play an important part in the life and education of the people.

The fact that through their fictions the utopians have given expression to their dreams of reform is in itself ample evidence of their dissatisfaction with the social situation which confronted them. The lack of sincerity and harmony in society, the cupidity of the privileged few and the ignorance of the exploited many, the poor leadership which so often has led mankind into disaster, the chaotic conditions prevalent in the occupational world,—all these have come in for their due share of criticism from the utopians.[2]

The utopians have given vent to their conviction that the community plays a decisive rôle in making men what they are. They are exponents of the doctrine of euthenics; that is, they believe in race improvement through the environment, and consequently emphasize the importance of a wholesome environment which produces only impressions of beauty and virtue to the total exclusion of incitements and temptations to wrongdoing.[3]

[1] See p. 14.

[2] See pp. 14 ff.

[3] Consider the following pronouncements of prominent utopians:

"We would not have our guardians grow up amid images of moral deformity. . . . Let our artists rather be those who are gifted to discern the true nature of the beautiful and graceful; then will our youth dwell in a land of health,

UTOPIAN EVERYDAY LIFE

In the first place, in what ways is the physical basis of life conducive, if at all, to the best possible development of the Utopians along desirable lines? Are there any towns and cities in the Utopian world? What sorts of dwellings do the people live in? What clothes do they wear? How and where are they fed? How are property and money divided among them? What is their daily routine of life? How does each of these factors promote the education of the Utopians? Let us endeavor to find an answer to these questions.

Towns and Cities

Most utopians have taken for granted the existence of towns and cities in their utopias, and as it befits their ideal schemes, the casual growth and squalid appearance which are so often prevalent in our urban centers have disappeared in utopias. In many cases design is evident in town and city planning, no hodge-podge growth being allowed.[4]

amid fair sights and sounds, and receive the good in everything; and beauty, the effluence of fair works, shall flow into the eye and ear, like a health-giving breeze from a purer region, and insensibly draw the soul from earliest years into likeness and sympathy with the beauty of reason." Plato, *The Republic*, Book III, pp. 87 f.

"There are no taverns, no alehouses nor stews among them; nor any other occasions of corrupting each other, of getting into corners, or forming themselves into parties." More, *Utopia*, p. 108.

"By removing opportunities they easily eliminate the sins." Andreæ, *Christianopolis*, p. 258.

"The character is formed *for* and not *by* the individual." Owen, *Autobiography*, pp. 61 f.

"It has been found and ever will be found far more easy to lead mankind to virtue, or to rational conduct, by providing them with well-regulated innocent amusements and recreations, than by forcing them to submit to useless restraints, which tend only to create disgust, and often to connect such feelings even with that which is excellent in itself, merely because it has been injudiciously associated." Owen, *A New View of Society*, Third Essay, p. 88.

"Never are those nudes or those voluptuous pictures seen which in our capitals, in order to please influential libertines, and through a most monstrous contradiction, while decency and chastity are constantly urged, present before the public eye images that a husband would conceal from his wife or a mother from her children.

"Never do we see either those works of ignorance or incapacity that wretchedness sells in other countries at a miserable price in order to get bread, and that corrupt the public taste while at the same time they throw art into disrepute." Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 48.

[4] For descriptions of towns and cities in early utopias see More, *Utopia*, pp. 92 ff.; Andreæ, *Christianopolis*, Chap. 7; and Campanella, *The City of the Sun*, pp. 218 f.; and in modern utopias see Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 11; Morris, *News from Nowhere*, pp. 95 f. and 101; and Wells, *A Modern Utopia*, pp. 210 ff.

Two opposite views appear in regard to the existence of cities. For W. D. Howells' Altrurians, for instance, the village is the ideal.[5] Their cities are not used as dwelling places, but only for the transaction of public affairs and also as centers of art, which is considered as the main public business. They are all capitals, one for each of the various regions of the country and one for the whole commonwealth.[6] Similarly, Mr. Wells's Men like Gods have no towns, the reasons for close gatherings of people having largely disappeared. Great series of communicating buildings are located in certain places where people get together for study, mutual stimulation, and other convenient exchanges.[7] On the other hand, T. B. Russell predicts the continued growth of cities, with the restrictions at present being placed upon the erection of very high buildings removed and with the cities expanding outwards at the expense of the suburbs.[8] Mr. Wells, whose latest utopia, as stated above, does away with the towns, had previously expressed contrary views. In *When the Sleeper Wakes* he suggests that in the future gigantic cities may absorb practically the population of entire countries. "Save London," he says, "there were only four other cities in Britain —Edinburgh, Portsmouth, Manchester, and Shrewsbury."[9] In his *Modern Utopia* London has become the traditional center of one of the great races of the World State, and its social and intellectual exchange. "Westminster shall still be a seat of world empire, one of several seats where the ruling council of the world assembles."[10]

In brief, the utopians with a few exceptions retain the city as an essential part of the structure of an ideal state; but in pursuance of their doctrine of euthenics they regulate its birth and growth, maintain in it a physically and morally wholesome environment, and use it chiefly for the higher purposes of life as centers of art, culture, refinement, and widespread social intercourse.

Dwellings

Which is the rule in utopias—the separate household or the large residential building where many people or families can

[5] *Through the Eye of the Needle*, p. 179.
[6] *A Traveller from Altruria*, pp. 218 f.
[7] *Men Like Gods*, p. 262.
[8] *A Hundred Years Hence*, p. 17.
[9] *When the Sleeper Wakes*, pp. 163 ff.
[10] *A Modern Utopia*, p. 237.

live together? Which of these types of dwellings will best serve the Utopian social order? Both have advocates among those proponents of ideal states that have expressed their views on the matter.

The separate household seems to be favored for two reasons; namely, because of its simplicity and because of certain amenities which it makes possible and for which the utopians show a decided penchant. Andreæ informs us that in his Christianopolis almost all houses are built after one model.[11] Such architectural monotony is exceptional in utopias. Berington would have homes modestly built and furnished so as to foster indirectly social solidarity. To him the home is intended to serve, not as a place of joys, but as a shelter against the inclemency of the elements. If the citizen, Berington goes on to say, finds beauty, comfort, and self-sufficiency at home, he will refrain from seeking the company and friendship of his fellows during his hours of leisure.[12] Bellamy favors the separate house, no larger than needed, and furnished so as to involve a minimum of trouble to keep it in order.[13] Other utopians while insisting on architectural simplicity demand at the same time beauty of construction. Their esthetic taste is further shown by making a flower garden an indispensable adjunct of the complete home.[14]

The outstanding proponents of the large residential building are Campanella and Vayrasse among the early utopians and Fourier and Wells among the modern. In the City of the Sun, says Campanella, they "have dwellings in common and dormitories and couches and other necessaries. But at the end of every six months they are separated by the masters. Some shall sleep in this ring, some in another; some in the first apartment and some in the second; and these apartments are marked by means of the alphabet on the lintel."[15] Here we have a good picture of the Utopian predecessor of the modern apartment house. The frequent and compulsory removals decreed by Campanella are probably a consequence, first, of his policy of promoting close social solidarity, to the realization of which the fluidity of

[11] *Christianopolis*, p. 169.
[12] *Mémoires de Gaudence de Luques*, pp. 136 ff.
[13] *Looking Backward*, pp. 118 f.
[14] Mercier, *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*, I, p. 39; Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 23; Howells, *A Traveller from Altruria*, p. 223, and *Through the Eye of the Needle*, p. 179; Morris, *News from Nowhere*, pp. 16 and 60; Blatchford, *The Sorcery Shop*, p. 19.
[15] *The City of the Sun*, p. 231.

population would contribute; and, second, of his abolition of the home, a measure which might be to some extent frustrated were the people allowed to reside permanently in the same place.

Vayrasse, anticipating modern metropolitan conditions by two and a half centuries, would put up what he calls "osmasies," large square buildings, with a court in the center, intended to house in comfort more than one thousand persons.[16]

The most elaborate plan for the construction of communal residential buildings has been left by Fourier. Without the phalanstery Fourier's ideal scheme is inconceivable. The phalanstery is not only the residence of the members of the phalanx—the unit of Fourier's society—but under its roof, in one wing, are the workshops and all the equipment needed for the industrial training of children; in another wing are various halls for the social activities of the members; and in the center are found the dining halls, libraries, study halls, conference rooms, the temple, the observatory, etc.[17] The phalanstery, embodying as it does the principle of association so eagerly advocated by Fourier, shows most clearly the close relationship that exists between a social system, whether real or imaginary, and the living conditions of the people.

The same fact is illustrated in Wells's Modern Utopia. Wells, on the one hand, advocates freedom as an essential of an ideal social order, and with it ease of movement and facilities for privacy; and, on the other hand, thinks of machinery as one of the means for sustaining his social structure. These ideas are reflected in the housing conditions of Modern Utopia. Here the prevailing kind of residence is a quadrangle type of building about five stories high, and one may go from end to end of the town along corridors and colonnades without coming by a gateway to the open roads. Housekeeping has ceased to be a toil, through the introduction of mechanical devices and other practical applications of scientific knowledge. The more luxurious apartments are provided with roof gardens, loggias, verandas, and other devices for open air privacy. As in other utopias, cooperative schemes have reduced the autonomy of the household, the most common sorts of such schemes being hotels and clubs. A common garden, an infant school, play rooms, and a playing garden for children are features of the club quadrangles. There

[16] *L'Histoire des Severambes*, p. 164.
[17] *Oeuvres Complètes*, IV, pp. 458 ff.

are also solitary homesteads here and there, but they are something of a luxury.[18]

The dwellings of the people in utopias are, then, intended to serve other purposes besides protection and privacy. In the first place, they are objective lessons in simplicity, artistic taste, and the effective application of means to ends. In the second place, they foster social solidarity, and so help in maintaining the Utopian social order, in various peculiar ways,—by the bareness of their appointments, which leads the people to satisfy a portion of life's needs and to seek some of the pleasures outside; or, conversely, by annexing to themselves such adjuncts as libraries, gardens, and facilities for social activities, which increase neighborliness; or by making frequent removals easy, and with them the making of new associations. Finally, as family abodes the Utopian dwellings enable the family, as in our world, to perform its educational functions.[19]

Clothes

A convention of civilized life that is subjected to community regulation in many utopias is the wearing of clothes. It may be well to survey from the viewpoint of education the proposed regulations and to surmise the possible motives underlying them.

To begin with, the whims of fashion are supposed to have disappeared from many ideal societies. There styles have lost their sway over both men and women and uniformity is the rule, but without being carried to extremes as in an army.[20] In Cabet's Icaria this condition was brought about by a committee of experts chosen to solve the problem of clothes. They held public audiences on the matter, studied the clothes worn in all countries, and published a book on clothes stating which were approved and which forbidden. Similarly, Howells' Altrurians had their costume fixed for them by a commission of artists, and they would consider it very bad form as well as bad morals to try changing it in the least.

Variety in clothes, however, is provided for here and there in various ways. They indicate through their make, color, or ornaments some important facts about the wearer, such as sex,

[18] *A Modern Utopia*, pp. 210 ff.

[19] These functions have been discussed in a preceding chapter. See pp. 43 ff.

[20] Andreæ, *Christianopolis*, p. 171; Campanella, *The City of the Sun*, p. 227; Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, pp. 56 f.; Howells, *Through the Eye of the Needle*, pp. 181 f.; T. B. Russell, *A Hundred Years Hence*, p. 297.

approximate age, marital condition, field of work, rank, and dignity. They vary in accordance with the occasions when they are worn; the home, the factory, the holiday excursion, and the social club, for instance, each making its peculiar demand upon the Utopian's wardrobe. In some cases even lesser factors are reckoned with, such things as the individual's color preferences, complexion and other physical traits. And, of course, in the matter of clothes the Utopians must take into account the changes of weather, climate, and season. But the sartorial anarchy under which we live in this world is inconceivable in utopias. Frequent changes of fashion are not a disturbing factor in Utopian life, a combination of motives having probably led to their prevention.

What may be the motives that led to the suppression of styles in utopias? First, the utopians may have been moved by their advocacy of what they deemed to be more rational forms of dress than ours.[21] They seem to want more simplicity, less ostentation, and more regard for the demands of the organism than we show in our apparel.[22] In the second place, uniformity of clothes may have been thought of as a factor that would promote social harmony and the consciousness of common purposes and common rights. Again, by means of certain colors and ornaments that designate occupation, rank, or dignity, clothes are used as a means of worthy emulation. Finally, uniformity would prevent the enormous waste caused by fashions in dress and thus foster social efficiency, which is one of the cardinal ideas of a utopia.[23]

[21] Campanella and Hertzka are for the toga, Hudson for a kilt-like dress, Saunders for knickers and the white tunic, and so on.

[22] The following words that appear in a recent discussion of clothes are appropriate at this point: "Clothing is not living tissue: it is at once less intimate and more under control. It is worn for modesty, for protection, and for display. Two-thirds of its strength might therefore remain untouched. . . . As to protection, we no doubt have overrated this necessity. The vaso-motor system seems immensely adaptable. We wear far less than the medieval gentleman had on, buttoned to the ears and the palms, but we do not need half our wardrobe. Much indeed may be positively harmful, preventing the pigmentation of the skin, which seems the best protection that man can present to the elements. Any covered portion becomes bleached, relaxed, and tender. Hygiene, if it could have things all its own way, would no doubt strip us naked." Gerald Heard, *Narcissus, An Anatomy of Clothes*, pp. 138 f. (Dutton, 1924.)

[23] For a brief and convincing discussion of the waste at present caused by styles and fashions, see Stuart Chase, *The Tragedy of Waste*, pp. 93 ff. (Macmillan, 1925.) Chase estimates that in the United States alone the man power wasted in super-luxuries and fashions amounts to 6,000,000.

Meals

As in the case of the wearing of clothes, the educational possibilities inherent in the taking of our meals have not escaped the reforming zeal of the utopians. Take, for instance, the simple question, where should the people eat their meals, at home or in public dining halls? The utopians discuss this question and, as usual, there occur among them differences of opinion regarding the ideal solution.

The exclusive use of public dining halls is proposed by More, Campanella, and Howells, who at the same time provide for the mental and moral improvement of the people through educational activities that take place simultaneously with the act of taking food. According to these utopians food for the body and food for the mind can be safely taken at once.

More begins each meal with a lecture on morality; "but it is so short, that it is not tedious nor uneasy for them to hear it." The service is done by young people of both sexes. The old and the young are mixed at the tables, "which they say was appointed on this account, that the gravity of the old people, and the reverence that is due to them, might restrain the younger from all indecent words and gestures." The old men entertain their company with pleasant conversation and incite the younger to talk, "that so they may in that free way of conversation find out the force of every one's spirit, and observe his temper." The congeniality of the company and the pleasures of the table are enhanced by music, by the burning of perfumes, and by "fragrant ointments and sweet waters." [24]

Campanella would convert mealtime into a cultural occasion. "While they are eating a young man reads a book from a platform, intoning distinctly and sonorously, and often the magistrates question them upon the more important parts of the reading." The idea of employing public dietitians is enunciated by Campanella in his account of the public dining halls. "It is the duty of the medical officers," he says, "to tell the cooks what repasts shall be prepared on each day, and what food for the old, what for the young, and what for the sick." [25] Such attention to dietetics in a work written three centuries ago clearly shows one of the many ways in which the author was ahead of his time.

[24] *Utopia*, pp. 105 ff.
[25] *The City of the Sun*, p. 232.

Howells, like More and Campanella, uses the public dining hall as an institution for intellectual advancement, but does so less formally than his predecessors. In Altruria there is during the meal hour a more active give and take of things of the mind through conversation, discussion, debate, and reading, most of which take place at the midday meal, "which falls at the end of the obligatory hours and is prolonged indefinitely, or as long as people like to chat and joke or listen to the reading of some pleasant book." Let it be noted in passing that most of the Altrurians' reading, when not done for special research, but for culture and entertainment, is done by public readers to large groups of listeners. The public dining halls afford convenient meeting places and occasions for that purpose.[26]

Other utopians reconcile the advisability of privacy at the dinner table on the part of the family with the demands of a social order that requires the utmost promotion of social solidarity by arrangements whereby certain meals are taken at home and others at the public refectories.[27] It may also happen that the individual is given full freedom of choice in this matter. Mr. Wells's Modern Utopia, for example, which aims at retaining in all matters a maximum of freedom when not inconsistent with the public welfare, allows the use of "little cooking corners"—the Utopian version of the American kitchenette—in the Utopian flats, "but the ordinary Utopian would no more think of a special private kitchen for his dinners than he would think of a private flour mill or dairy farm." [28]

Property and Money

The close dependence of the individual upon the community in utopias is again emphasized in the theories of property and money expounded therein, a complete discussion of which is without the province of this study. Suffice it to point out that among the utopians are found some of the pioneer exponents of the social theory of property, whereby the state reserves to itself the ultimate power of ownership of most forms of property, although it may delegate that power more or less liberally to the individual. Plato, More, and Campanella, among the early utopians, advocate the community of property and the conse

[26] *A Traveller from Altruria*, pp. 227 f.

[27] Vayrasse, *L'Histoire des Sevarambes*, p. 297 f.; Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 53 f.; Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, pp. 145 f. and 153.

[28] *A Modern Utopia*, p. 213.

quent abolition of money; while most of their successors place more or less restrictions on private property, chiefly by nationalizing the means of production.

Let us briefly consider from the viewpoint of education the reasons for and the effects of the abolition or limitation of property rights in utopias. Either measure is, according to most utopians, an indispensable condition for bringing about the highest possible degree of social solidarity in the commonwealth because of the economic well-being that it supposedly guarantees to all citizens. To Plato and Campanella the community of property is the only means for securing whole-hearted devotion on the part of the citizens to the interests of the commonwealth.[29] To More it is the only means for the successful promotion of equality, justice, and happiness in the state.[30] Midway between these pioneer utopians and their modern confreres stands Vayrasse asserting that "wealth and property are the cause of great differences in civil society" and "a source of avarice, envy, extortions, and numberless other evils." [31]

Related more explicitly to education, particularly to the formal aspects of this process, are some of the arguments for communism advanced by Babeuf and his followers during the last days of the French Revolution. Article IX of the Doctrine of Babeuf provides that "No one can, by accumulating to himself all the means, deprive another of the instruction necessary for his happiness. Instruction ought to be common to all." This provision is justified on the following grounds: "(1) This accumulation deprives the men of labor of even the possibility of acquiring the knowledge necessary to every good citizen. (2) Although the people have no need of very great instruction, they require a certain portion to save them from being the prey of professional craft, and of pretenders to learning and science. The people, above all, require to know their rights and duties." [32]

The principles of equality and solidarity as the motives for the abolition of private property are again brought to the fore by Cabet [33] and Bellamy.[34] On the other hand, Fourier and Hertzka are of the opinion that those principles can be retained

[29] See p. 34.

[30] *Utopia*, pp. 85 f.

[31] *L'Histoire des Sevarambes*, pp. 233 f.

[32] Buonarroti, *Histoire de la Conspiration pour l'Egalité dite de Babeuf*, Vol. 2, pp. 147 f.

[33] *Voyage en Icarie*, pp. 38, 344 f., and 383 ff.

[34] *Looking Backward*, pp. 90, 92 f. and 116.

without resort to communism, and both propose schemes in which wealth is one of the individual's rewards for success in competitive activities.[35]

Wells emphasizes the principle of freedom as the main reason for the property laws of the Modern Utopia. "Under modern conditions—indeed, under any conditions—a man without some negotiable property is a man without freedom, and the extent of his property is very largely the measure of his freedom." [36] And the greater a man's freedom, the better his opportunities for varied experience in work and leisure, for study, travel, and experiment—in short, for education. Consequently, "the object sought in the code of property laws that one would find in operation in Utopia would be the same object that pervades the whole Utopian organization; namely, as universal maximum of individual freedom. Whatever far-reaching movements the state, or great rich men or private corporations may make, the starvation by any complication of employment, the unwilling deportation, the destruction of alternatives to servile submission, must not ensue." [37]

Is the ownership of personal property allowed in the utopian countries where communism or the nationalization of industry has come to prevail? The early utopians are silent on this point; while among the moderns several have answered affirmatively.[38] The modern utopian position is best explained by Mr. Wells in the following terms: "A modern Utopian most assuredly must have a practically unqualified property in all those things that become, as it were, by possession, extensions and expressions of his personality: his clothing, his jewels, the tools of his employment, his books, the objects of art he may have brought or made, his personal weapons [if Utopia has need of such things], insignia and so forth." [39] Elsewhere, in discussing the relation of goods, chattels, and articles of personal use to the individual whom they serve, Mr. Wells has set forth the Socialistic view, to which other modern utopians would in all likelihood also subscribe. Says Mr. Wells: "All that property which is an enlargement of personality, the modern Socialist seeks to preserve;

[35] Fourier, *Oeuvres Complètes*, IV, pp. 516 f. and 582 f.; Hertzka, *Freeland*, pp. 19 f.

[36] *A Modern Utopia*, p. 95.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

[38] See, for example, Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, p. 116; Anatole France, *The White Stone*, p. 216.

[39] *A Modern Utopia*, p. 97.

it is that exaggerated property that gives power over the food and needs of one's fellow creatures, property and inheritance in land, in industrial machinery, in the homes of others, and in the usurer's grip upon others, that he seeks to destroy. The most doctrinaire Socialists will tell you they do not object to property for use and consumption but only to property in 'the means of production.' " [40]

The educational bearings of this position are not far to seek. According to it, property should be used, on the one hand, as a means for the promotion of social welfare, and, on the other hand, as an incentive to individual development. "In Utopia no one will have to hunger because some love to make and have made and own and cherish beautiful things. To give this much of property to individuals will tend to make clothing, ornamentation, implements, books, and all the arts finer and more beautiful, because by buying such things a man will secure something inalienable—save in the case of bankruptcy—for himself and for those who belong to him." [41]

Let us summarize the educational implications of the Utopian property laws and regulations. Most utopians would restrict more or less drastically the private ownership of property in their ideal states. They consider that reform necessary to consolidate the heterogeneous elements of society and to promote equality, happiness, and the general welfare. The unregulated pursuit of wealth by private individuals they deem injurious both to those engaged in it and to their victims. It makes the former selfish and indifferent to the rights of their fellow men and to the welfare of society. It deprives the latter of the opportunity to enjoy all the goods of life which the march of progress has placed within reach of mankind and to which their humanity entitles them. And after this ugly crop, as an aftermath of evil, cupidity hinders social unity by impeding or destroying the good will and fraternalism that should prevail in an ideal social order. The utopians, however, see no objection to the unrestricted private possession of goods, chattels, and articles in daily use, and consequently they allow it. In fact, they see in it a means to further the individual's development along desirable lines and his enjoyment of life.

[40] *New Worlds for Old*, p. 143.
[41] Wells, *A Modern Utopia*, p. 98.

The Utopian Daily Round of Work, Leisure, and Rest

With the home, the school, and the church functioning without friction in those utopias that retain them, as most of them do, with work established in these ideal states as a universal obligation, with the governmental machinery or a high sense of civic duty enforcing the social will, and with the physical basis of life laid as we have just seen above, it has become possible in not a few instances for the utopians to put forward thoroughgoing programs for the daily conduct of the whole community. The pages of history may be searched in vain for similar schemes of wholesale regimentation. On surveying these schemes one is tempted to acclaim the utopians as the precursors of the modern movement for scientific management in industry, and to praise them or blame them, according to one's opinion of that movement.

Let us listen to Sir Thomas More's summary of the daily life of his Utopians. "They do not wear themselves out with perpetual toil, from morning to night, as if they were beasts of burden, which as it is indeed a heavy slavery, so it is everywhere the common course of life amongst all mechanics except the Utopians; but they dividing the day and night into twenty-four hours, appoint six of these for work; three of which are before dinner; and three after. They then sup, and at eight o'clock, counting from noon, go to bed and sleep eight hours. The rest of their time besides that taken up in work, eating and sleeping, is left to every man's discretion; yet they are not to abuse that interval to luxury and idleness, but must employ it in some proper exercise according to their various inclinations, which is for the most part reading. It is ordinary to have public lectures every morning before daybreak; at which none are obliged to appear but those who are marked out for literature; yet a great many, both men and women of all ranks, go to hear lectures of one sort or other, according to their inclinations. But if others, that are not made for contemplation, choose rather to employ themselves in their trades, as many of them do, they are not hindered, but are rather commended, as men that take care to serve their country. After supper, they spend an hour in some diversion, in summer in their gardens, and in winter in the halls where they eat; where they entertain each other,

either with music or discourse. They do not so much as know dice, or any such foolish and mischievous games." [42]

Campanella and Vayrasse are two early utopians that also propose collective programs of activity and leisure. "In the City of the Sun," says Campanella, "while duty and work is distributed among all, it only falls to each one to work for about four hours every day. The remaining hours are spent in learning joyously, in debating, in reading, in reciting, in writing, in walking, in exercising the mind and body, and with play. They allow no game which is played while sitting, neither the single die nor dice, nor chess, nor others like these. But they play with the ball, with the sack, with the hoop, with wrestling, with hurling at the stake." [43]

Vayrasse divides the day into three equal parts to be devoted to work, pleasure and rest, respectively.[44] Curiously enough, his Sevarites move forward or backward the hours in keeping with the differences in the seasons.[45] Vayrasse thus anticipated by two centuries and a half our recent adoption of the daylight-saving system.

In recent times Cabet and Hertzka have likewise made out daily programs for their utopias. The everyday movement of population is regulated by them with a meticulous exactness that would do honor to a general staff in charge of the mobilization of an army. The hours of work, the time and place of the daily meals, the hours of leisure and the activities for filling them,—all are minutely prescribed by the whole population, in truly military fashion, by Cabet [46] and Hertzka.[47]

Here is Cabet's program:

5 A. M.	Everybody gets up.
6 A. M.	All public means of transportation and all streets are thronged with men going to their work.
9 A. M.	Women go to their work and children to school.
9 A. M. to 1 P. M.	The whole population is at work or in school.

[42] *Utopia*, pp. 97 f.
[43] *The City of the Sun*, p. 238.
[44] *L'Histoire des Sevarambes*, p. 235.
[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 298 f.
[46] *Voyage en Icarie*, pp. 107 f.
[47] *A Visit to Freeland*, pp. 76 f.

1:30 P. M.	All workers leave their work to gather with their families and neighbors in the public restaurants.
2 to 3 P. M.	Everybody dines.
3 to 9 P. M.	All the people fill the gardens, terraces, streets, promenades, popular assemblies, drives, theaters, and all other public resorts.
10 P. M.	Everybody goes to bed.
10 P. M. to 5 A. M.	The streets are deserted.

Such a scheme obviously shows either ignorance or disregard of the facts of human nature. It conflicts with deep-seated instincts of man that no social order however advanced will ever change. Man's self-assertiveness, his penchant for variety, his irritation under restraint, his tendency to seclusion for many functions of life, are left out of the reckoning in such a proposal. The plan also ignores the endless differences existing among men, a weakness particularly evident in the case of the early utopians with their emphasis on intellectual activities that are beyond the power of legions of individuals in the present stage of development of the human species.

Furthermore, the plan for an all-embracing program for the daily routine of life of the community would prove inexpedient in no small degree. Due to the fact that all the people would be doing the same thing at the same hour, it would produce overcrowding, with its usual train of evil consequences, everywhere—in the homes and other dwellings of the people, in the streets and public conveyances, in the places of work, and in those places that minister to the spiritual, cultural, and recreational needs of the people. There would be an endless succession of "rush hours," day in and day out, to tax to the limit the patience of the Utopian temper and to threaten constantly the very social efficiency at which such concerted activity is aimed.

In brief, such a plan clashes violently with the facts of psychology and the dictates of common sense. The simultaneity of action, the monotony of life, the extreme punctuality, the barrack-like, watch-in-hand conduct of life that it demands, would be unbearable in the real world of men. As imagination beholds the goose step of all the people of a city or country dreamed of by some utopians, the appalling features of the spectacle be-

come most prominent, creating mixed feelings of awe and disgust, and tempting the observer from our world, wont as he is to our individualistic ideas and practices and however catholic his sympathy towards the reforming zeal of the utopians, to turn his back forever upon the ideal world of Utopia.

The Utopian world, however, merits thorough exploration, as we have had occasion to see time and again in preceding pages of this account of its education. The very programs of universal regimentation that have been condemned above involve praiseworthy features, such as the shortening of the hours of labor and the corresponding increase in leisure available for all the people.

The Use of Leisure in Utopias

The educational bearings of the utopians' work activities have been pointed out above.[48] Work, it will be remembered, promotes education in three ways; namely, through the short hours of employment, through the humane conditions under which it is done, and through the application of the principle of compulsory labor service.[49] Furthermore, there is no direct connection between a man's work and his social status and leisure interests, as a rule, in utopias. The duration of the longest work day in these ideal states is eight hours, while six hours daily is the favorite time allotment for work.[50] Judging by the standards of our world, this arrangement leaves an unusually large amount of time for leisure, and it may be well to find out at this point, because of the undeniable educational significance of the matter, how the Utopians spend their abundant leisure.

With the present trend in our world to shorten the hours of work, it behooves the leaders and teachers of the community to provide the means for the innocent and constructive use by the people of their hours of freedom. Let us not forget that leisure may affect the character of a man to a greater extent than work, this being the case because in his work he is more or less under restraint while in his free hours he is "the master of his fate," exercising his freedom of choice in favor either of wholesome endeavors that may make for his success in life or of evil activities that may mar his character forever. Being the apostles of

[48] See Chapter VII.
[49] See pp. 94 ff.
[50] See footnote 5, p. 94.

the short work day, the utopians may offer us helpful suggestions for the solution of the problem of leisure in our world.

More and Campanella, as shown in the passages quoted above, would have their Utopians engage during their leisure hours in unmistakably edifying activities, such as reading, debating, attendance at lectures, and games aimed at the intellectual, moral, and physical development of the participants, or, should an individual so prefer, at work in his own trade or profession. They condemn "such foolish and mischievous games" as dice or chess, and are silent in regard to the theater, dancing, vacations, and other means of collective recreation.

Their successors have been less exacting in their demands upon human nature in regard to the use of leisure, and have favored more facile and congenial leisure activities than those two pioneers advocated. In fact, they add little to the various methods of spending our leisure hours prevalent in our world; but they suggest ways in which our leisure may be improved for the sake of both the individual and the community.

In the first place, some utopians emphasize the quality of informality as a means for the promotion and enjoyment of social intercourse. In Freeland families that are intimate with each other meet together without ceremony almost every evening.[51] In Altruria all pleasures are made public as far as possible, the ideal being inclusive and not exclusive. The daily life is so largely social that the Altrurians seldom meet by special invitation or engagement.[52] In Nowhere "there is no unvarying conventional set of rules by which people are judged; no bed of Procrustes to stretch or cramp their minds and lives."[53] Finally, we are told of the Men like Gods that "for recreation they went about their planet, and there was much love, and laughter and friendship in Utopia and an abundant easy informal social life."[54]

A twofold policy followed in some utopias for the purpose of bringing about increased social intercourse consists, on the one hand, in simplifying their homes and domestic life, and on the other hand, in providing most liberally for their public institutions and social life. The earliest advocate of this policy is Berington, who holds that permitting the citizens to embellish their homes would be inimical to the principle of social sol-

[51] Hertzka, *Freeland*, p. 285.
[52] Howells, *A Traveller from Altruria*, p. 238.
[53] Morris, *News from Nowhere*, p. 82.
[54] Wells, *Men Like Gods*, p. 171.

idarity; for each one would convert his home into a place of joys that would make him socially self-sufficient and able to dispense during his leisure hours with the society of his fellows. With no allurements at home, the individual will go to public places in search of relaxation after his daily work.[55] Bellamy likewise informs us that in his future society the citizens will have as little gear about them at home as is consistent with comfort, while the social side of life will be luxurious beyond anything known before in the world. All industrial and professional guilds will have clubhouses as well as country, mountain, and seaside houses for sport and rest in vacations.[56] Howells shelters his Altrurians in dwellings which although beautiful are simple in style, while he would lavish "the splendors of the arts" upon the public edifices, which they enjoy in common.[57]

Cabet and Wells connect with the problem of leisure the principle that each considers of the greatest importance for the maintenance of his ideal social order. To the former equality is that indispensable principle; to the latter it is freedom. In Icaria, therefore, no other pleasures are allowed than those that all the inhabitants can enjoy equally, and the things whose main end is to afford pleasure are sought only after those that are necessary and useful have been provided for all.[58] In turn, in Modern Utopia "a man will be free to be just as idle or uselessly busy as it pleases him, after he has earned the minimum wage. . . . The World State of the modern Utopist is no state of moral compulsions. If, for example, under the restricted scheme of inheritance, a man inherited sufficient money to release him from the need to toil, he would be free to go where he pleased and do what he liked. . . . A certain proportion of men at ease is good for the world . . . From leisure, in a good moral and intellectual atmosphere, come experiments, come philosophy and the new departures."[59] Wells further recognizes that there are two sides in human nature—the animal and the human—and that both must be harmonized. Because man is fundamentally animal his daily life must satisfy his appetites and afford release to his instincts. Therefore the daily round includes in Modern Utopia such elements as various and agreeable foods and drinks,

[55] *Mémoires de Gaudence de Luques*, pp. 136 ff.
[56] *Looking Backward*, p. 158.
[57] *A Traveller from Altruria*, p. 223.
[58] Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, pp. 271 ff.
[59] Wells, *A Modern Utopia*, p. 155.

entertaining exercise and work, abundant sleep and fearless love-making. With these needs satisfied the higher powers of the Utopians can get into action most effectively, especially that factor that was most influential in the elimination of past confusions—"curiosity, the play impulse, prolonged and expanded in adult life into an insatiable appetite for knowledge and an habitual creative urgency. All Utopians had become like little children, learners and makers."[60]

An institution which for ages has ministered to mankind in their hours of leisure is the theater. Strange to say, little has been said in utopias regarding its work. Probably because of the utopians' absorption in matters which they deemed of greater importance, the early members of this group of social thinkers entirely overlook the theater, and their modern successors have given it but scant attention.

The few utopias that discuss the theater emphasize its didactic function. Mercier provides for its support by the government and converts it into a public school of manners, taste, and morality. To the dramatic authors he assigns no other purpose than the improvement of human nature.[61] Fourier uses the theater as a means for the study of all sciences and arts, and trains all children from an early age to appear in declamations, songs, dances, and instrumental and lyrical performances.[62] That is, he advocates, not merely passive amusement, but active amusement; not the idea of having the people sit passive while a few performers entertain them, but their active participation in theatrical performances. Cabet adds to the theater's time-honored function of affording recreation, that of inculcating morality and patriotism. "The theater," he says, "is a school where the teachers are the fine arts charged with combining their prestiges in order to educate while entertaining."[63] Sweven uses the theater to depict the future, presenting it so far as possible as an evolution of the present. The noblest ideal that the imagination of the race can shape is brought dramatically before the people so that their thoughts and ambitions might be fixed on something beyond themselves.[64] These statements of the functions of the theater as well as the zeal for reform animating

[60] Wells, *A Modern Utopia*, p. 266.
[61] *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*, I, pp. 165 f. and 171.
[62] *Oeuvres Complètes*, I, p. 156.
[63] *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 221.
[64] *Limanora*, p. 454.

the utopians warrant the assertion that the theater is used in most ideal states not only for recreational purposes, but also as an educational agency.

It may be likewise safely asserted that all of the Utopians' leisure time is not to be used exclusively for such lofty purposes as cultivating their minds, maintaining and increasing their social contacts, and fostering their moral worth, civic virtues, and esthetic sense. It is evident that the makers of ideal states would keep all along the line in their proposed series of leisure activities the elements of enjoyment as an inseparable concomitant of each of the above-mentioned objectives. Education and enjoyment must go together whenever possible—this seems to be their first principle in the regulation of leisure. But here and there in utopias many leisure activities are advocated for their intrinsic worth, as ends in themselves, not for any other purpose than affording recreation to the people. Such favorite recourses of idle mankind as dancing, parties, vacations, picnics, travel, and holiday excursions are not unknown, nay, are quite common occurrences in the utopian world.[65]

To recapitulate: In the preceding survey of the use of leisure in utopias the educational motive is paramount. It has been shown that More and Campanella are the apostles of intellectual and moral edification through appropriate leisure activities. Some of their successors advocate abundant social intercourse, an outcome which they would facilitate by decreasing the social formalities, by simplifying the home, and by magnifying the public institutions and the social life. Cabet and Wells make of the leisure activities of their Utopians an instrument to uphold the all-pervading feature of their respective Utopias, which is equality in Icaria and freedom in Modern Utopia. Again, in the utopian theater the didactic purpose is conspicuous, this institution contributing to the intellectual, moral, esthetic and civic development of the people. Finally, with or without any ulterior purpose, each leisure activity in utopias is intended to provide innocent recreation and to enable the people to find joy in life. Indeed, the utopians—to use a phrase of Robert Louis Stevenson's—"make nothing so much their business as their amusement." They have learned the hard lesson of the constructive use of leisure time.

[65] See, for example, *ibid.*, p. 221; Hertzka, *Freeland*, pp. 133, 217, and 279 f.

The Daily Life and Education: A Summary

The preceding pages have shown that the physical basis of life in the Utopian world and the daily activities of the Utopians are all pervaded with educational meanings. The city is, as a rule, retained as an essential part of the structure of an ideal state, and the dwellings therein serve other purposes besides those of protection and privacy by serving as examples of simplicity, good taste, and resourcefulness; by facilitating social contacts; and by enabling the family to carry out all its functions, including the performance of its share in the education of its members. The wearing of clothes is regulated in favor of rational types that are characterized by simplicity and regard for the needs of the organism, thus promoting at once social harmony and individual health. The taking of the daily meals is used as an occasion for intellectual and moral cultivation of the people, and to that end public dining halls are maintained. The ownership of property is restricted more or less stringently as a means to consolidate society and to promote happiness and the general welfare. Work becomes an agency of education directly through the short work day, through the humane conditions in which it is done, and through the principle of compulsory labor, and indirectly through the increase of leisure for all and through the lack of correlation between an individual's occupation, on the one hand, and his social status and avocational activities, on the other hand. Last but not least, leisure is used for intellectual and moral edification, for abundant social intercourse, and for innocent recreation—in a word, to enable mankind to find joy in life through wholesome activity.

THE GOVERNMENT IN UTOPIAS

The makers of utopias as advocates of euthenics stand, as already stated, for the creation of an environment wherein beauty, virtue, and culture are fostered by all available means while all temptations to wrongdoing and vulgarity are eliminated as far as possible. A detailed account has been given above, pointing out the ways in which the physical basis of life and its daily round of work and leisure contribute to the creation of a wholesome environment in particular and to the education of the Utopians in general.

It will be well to show at this point how the governmental

agencies of Utopia also share in the attainment of the same ends. This will be done, first, by a rough sketch that while conveying an idea of the Utopian systems of government will at the same time shed light on their educational bearings; and, second, by an extended discussion of the ways in which the various utopian governments serve as agencies of education.

Forms of Government Advocated

Roughly speaking, three political systems are in force in utopias; namely, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. In addition several utopias exist where anarchy prevails. Monarchy is proposed, for instance, by More, Mercier, Bulwer-Lytton, and Tarde, while at the other end Blatchford, Morris, and Wells have put forward anarchistic schemes. The remaining utopians are about equally divided between aristocracy and democracy as the best type of government. Both types are favored by prominent representatives of this group of thinkers: Plato, Andreæ, Campanella, Saint Simon, and Wells (in his *Modern Utopia*) advocate aristocratic forms of government, while Gott, Harrington, Cabet, Bellamy, and Hertzka are in favor of democratic schemes. The main features of the various schemes of government proposed by the utopians mentioned will now be described.

Utopian Monarchies

Absolute monarchy is unanimously rejected by the utopians, the monarchies proposed by them being always limited by democratic elements. In More's *Utopia*—to begin with the earliest Utopian monarchy extant—the Prince serves for life; but he is elected by the Philarchs, or representatives of the people, and may be removed "upon suspicion of some design to enslave the people." All other magistrates are only annual,[66] a device which at once multiplies the opportunities of the citizens to serve their country and permits of rapid promotion and reward for faithful and competent service or swift removal in the case of unworthy officials. In everything concerning the government deliberation is the rule, and arbitrary, individual decisions are prevented. The Prince constantly consults his ministers and the people's representatives. No conclusion can be reached in any public matter till it has been debated three

[66] *Utopia*, p. 95.

several days in the ministers' council, wherein the people are always represented. If any important project is initiated, it is submitted to the Philarchs, who take it up among themselves and with their constituents and then report to the senate. "Upon great occasions the matter is referred to the council of the whole island."[67] More thus proposed the democratic devices of rotation in office, representation, debate and referendum under a monarchical form of government, and he did so in the heyday of absolutism in Europe, a fact that at once shows his courage and his progressive temper.

Mercier grants complete power to legislate to the people's representatives assembled as Estates General. The King and the Senate are charged with the execution of the laws and in general with the administration of the government, but they are both responsible to the Estates General. In order to make the law appear as an embodiment of the public reason and therefore to facilitate obedience to it, every act has a preamble stating its origin and its purpose.[68] Like More, Mercier would have the people exert influence in the public affairs of their country under a monarchial form of government.

Bulwer-Lytton opens his account of the governmental system of *The Coming Race* with the statement that "even republican writers have agreed that a benevolent autocracy would insure the best administration, if there were any guarantees for its continuance, or against its gradual abuse of the powers accorded to it."[69] These two conditions are met in his imaginary society. Here is a society where perfect social stability obtains, where nothing can induce men to covet the cares of office, where no fame is attached to anything that man can perform in his life.[70] Hence the community is satisfied with electing a single supreme magistrate called the Tur, who holds office nominally for life, but can seldom be induced to retain it after the first approach of old age.[71] Each citizen obeys without question the commands of the Tur.[72] The chief care of this supreme magistrate is to communicate with certain active departments charged with the administration of special services of government.[73] The

[67] *Utopia*, pp. 95 f.
[68] *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*, II, pp. 64 f.
[69] *The Coming Race*, pp. 46 f.
[70] *Ibid.*, also p. 115.
[71] *Ibid.*, p. 47.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

Tur himself is the best person to choose his successor, and generally does so.[74]

In such a stable and peaceful society as he has depicted, Bulwer-Lytton makes a man supreme in order to insure perfect equality among the rest. "We should lose that equality that constitutes the felicitous essence of our commonwealth if we selected any individual for preëminent praise," says a spokesman of the Coming Race. "Preëminent praise would confer preëminent power, and the moment it were given, evil passions, now dormant, would awake; other men would immediately covet praise, then would arise envy, and with envy, hate, and with hate, calumny and persecution."[75]

Another example of a benevolent autocracy rationally inspired is presented by Gabriel Tarde. In his utopia "a man is judged in fact by his peers and according to his productions, not by the incompetent or according to his electoral exploits." Among these Utopians the superior genius is hailed as such by his disciples and his comrades, and his elevation to the supreme magistracy does not humiliate the pride of the senators who elect him and who themselves are the chiefs of the leading schools which they have created. These electors, being intelligent and sympathetic admirers of the chief magistrate, identify themselves with the object of their choice. Tarde's society is, as he has called it, a "Geniocratic" Republic, "based on admiration, not on envy, on sympathy, and not on dislike, on enlightenment, not on illusion."[76] Like other utopian advocates of monarchy, Tarde seems to deny the ability of the people to manage successfully the government of a country. To him government is a complex function the performance of which should be entrusted solely to experts.

Utopian Aristocracies

That the government of a country should be placed in the hands of persons who are especially qualified for the task appears to have been the belief, likewise, of that group of utopians that would fain set up aristocracies in their ideal commonwealths. These utopians believe in government by the few, but those few attain to their position not through the accidents

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 156.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 115.
[76] *Underground Man*, pp. 131 f.

of wealth and hereditary rank, but through demonstrated qualities of leadership.

The utopian apostle of aristocracy is Plato. As already stated, for Plato education is the process whereby each class is prepared for its work in the commonwealth in harmony with the other classes[77] and among the objectives of that process are to ascertain each individual's capacity and to prepare him for his work; to find and develop the superior individuals; and to train them for the pursuit of philosophy and the government of the state.[78] Without the guardians, who constitute the ruling class, the Republic would cease to be, and it is for the purpose of securing the continued existence of the state that only the children of the two upper classes—the citizen soldiers and the guardians—are given the extended course of education proposed by Plato.[79] By providing equality of opportunity for the children of those two classes the government of the Republic trains the future rulers of the country.

Through his guardians Plato makes the state supreme and completely subjugates the individual to it. The abolition of private property and the community of wives and children are indispensable elements of his scheme.[80] As Hertzler says, "With Plato all individual interests whatsoever are forbidden the citizens, and they are required to form in the strictest sense a family in the mass. Everything individual and particular falls away. Private property and domestic life, education and instruction, the choice of rank and possession, the arts and sciences, all these must be placed under the exclusive and absolute control of the state. The social life must be, as it were, the life of one man."[81]

Andreæ proposes a triumvirate for his community. To him this is the safest form of government if its members are chosen among people of sound moral character and wide experience in public affairs.[82]

It was left for Campanella to put forward the most remarkable scheme of aristocratic government in early modern utopias. In the City of the Sun the direction of the community is entrusted

[77] See above pp. 22 ff.
[78] See p. 27.
[79] For an account of this course see pp. 58, 63 f., 71, and 80 f.
[80] See pp. 34 f.
[81] *The History of Utopian Thought*, p. 106.
[82] *Christianopolis*, p. 174.

to a group of four men—a supreme magistrate and three ministers of equal power—all of them scientifically trained for their respective duties. Thus the idea of systematic division of labor is applied to governmental administration in this utopia. The chief magistrate, called Hoh or Metaphysic, rules over all in temporal and spiritual affairs; but in every matter he gets the assistance of his three ministers. Pon or Power is in charge of all matters of war and peace; Sin or Wisdom, "is the ruler of the liberal arts, of mechanics, of all sciences with their magistrates and doctors, and of the discipline of the schools;" [83] and Mor or Love "is foremost in attending to the charge of the race." The latter "sees that men and women are so joined together, that they bring forth the best offspring . . . Thus the education of the children is under his rule," as well as the administration of public health and the production of foodstuffs and clothing materials.[84] Each of these three ministers has under him three assistants.[85]

The head of the state and his three ministers are chosen for life, but they can at any time voluntarily relinquish their offices. As Campanella puts it, they "are never changed, unless they, taking counsel with themselves, give up the dignity of one to another, whom among them they know to be wiser, more renowned and more nearly perfect."[86] The nine magistrates who assist the three members of Hoh's cabinet "are changed according to the wish of the people." [87] Presumably one of their functions is to represent the people in the supreme council of the state.

Among modern utopians an early advocate of aristocracy as the best form of government is Saint Simon. He would entrust the government to the "industriels," [88] to the leaders of business and industry, adducing an imposing array of arguments to justify his scheme.[89] Industry, with the aid of science, should rule

[83] *The City of the Sun,* pp. 220 f.
[84] *Ibid.,* p. 224.
[85] *Ibid.,* p. 253.
[86] *Ibid.,* p. 254.
[87] *Ibid.,* pp. 253 f.
[88] Saint Simon defines an "industriel" as "a man who works to produce or to put within reach of the various members of society, one or several material means of satisfying their physical needs or tastes." (*Du Système Industriel,* VIII, pp. 3 f.) The farmer, the manufacturer, the trader, the banker, are thus included in the industrial class, while the soldier, the government employee, the artist, and the professional man are excluded.
[89] *Du Système Industriel,* V, p. 105; vol. 6, p. 240; vol. 8, pp. 4 and 7 f.

the world. The temporal power in society Saint Simon would place in the hands of the leaders of business and industry, and the spiritual power in the hands of the scientists and savants; for the former control the material forces of society and the latter its intellectual resources.[90] The "industriels," Saint Simon asserts, must convince themselves that they are called, exclusively of all other citizens, "to conceive and to combine the means of bringing about in a general way the prosperity of agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing."[91] They will constitute themselves the first class of society. "The most important industrial leaders will take upon themselves, without pay, the direction of the administration of the public fortunes; it is they who will make the laws; it is they who will fix the rank that the other classes will occupy among themselves; they will accord to each of them an importance proportionate to the service that each of them renders industry."[92] Saint Simon thus predicted and urged over a hundred years ago the hegemony that in the present social order is held by the business man.

In the field of utopian literature the most prominent contemporary advocate of government by the select few is H. G. Wells. Mr. Wells maintains that the organization of his Modern Utopia demands a more powerful and efficient method of control than electoral methods can give,[93] and that "that hasty despair of specialization for government that gave our poor world individualism, democratic liberalism, and anarchism, and that curious disregard of the fund of enthusiasm and self-sacrifice in men, which is the fundamental weakness of worldly economics, do not appear in the history of Utopian thought."[94] Hence there arises in Modern Utopia a voluntary order of intellectual and moral aristocrats in whom is vested the political power, which otherwise might be diffused all throughout the social organization.[95]

That powerful body is the order of the Samurai. To its activities, extending for centuries, is due the establishment of the World State in Utopia,[96] and at present it practically rules the world, its members being typically engaged in administrative

[90] *Du Système Industriel*, vol. 6, p. 121.
[91] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 51.
[92] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 42.
[93] *A Modern Utopia*, p. 250.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 253.
[95] *Ibid.*, pp. 250 f.
[96] *Ibid.*, pp. 252 f.

work.[97] The Samurai are the only voters and the only administrators, lawyers, practicing doctors, and public officials of almost all kinds.[98] Membership in the order is open to every physically and mentally healthy adult who will meet the requirements of its rigorous Rule of living.

Like Plato with his series of elimination tests, Wells with his Rule of the Samurai provides for a strict selection of the rulers of society. The Rule aims at the exclusion of the dull and the base; at the control of the impulses and emotions; at the development of a moral habit; at maximum coöperation of all well-meaning men; and at the maintenance of a state of moral and bodily health among the Samurai.[99] These aims are realized by the lifelong application of a series of intellectual, moral and physical tests. In the first place, the candidates to membership must satisfy certain preliminary requirements. Their educational qualifications include the completion of a college course, except in some special cases of failure; the possession of a Technique, and either being professional men or having done some creative work; and knowledge of the Book of the Samurai, several volumes that are for them what the Bible was for the ancient Hebrews. In the way of physical qualifications, sound health, good training, and a minimum age of twenty-five for men and twenty-one for women are demanded. Secondly, certain things must not be done by the Samurai, mainly in order to test at once their self-denial and self-control. Among the forbidden things are indulgence in certain small pleasures,—food, tobacco, and liquor; money lending; engaging in trade on their own account; salesmanship; acting, singing, or reciting; personal services, except in the matter of medicine and surgery; being a servant or keeping one; betting; playing games in public or watching them played; and marrying a woman not a Samurai.[100] Finally, there are the things that the Samurai must do, of which the most important is the government of the World State.

In his advocacy of aristocracy as the best form of government in Utopia, Mr. Wells has the support of other contemporary thinkers who have had visions of an ideal social order. The Italian sociologist, Paolo Mantegazza, for instance, depicts a utopia in which the tyranny of king and parliament was first

[97] *Ibid.*, pp. 268 f.
[98] *Ibid.*, pp. 298 f.
[99] *Ibid.*, p. 270.
[100] *Ibid.*, pp. 271 ff.

superseded for a century by a socialistic régime which suppressed the individual and annihilated all freedom. An artificial mechanism, for the sake of collectivism, choked all initiative and all competition for preëminence. Finally socialism was overthrown and government by the majority was followed by that of the best, of a wise and honest minority.[101]

Speculating in an identical temper, says T. B. Russell: "When oligarchy really means government by those best qualified to govern—the nature of this 'bestness' being intelligently determined—oligarchy will be recognized as the most satisfactory form of government."[102] He predicts the time when specialization will become so prevalent in all spheres of activity that the business of law-making will be entrusted to a specially qualified and specially educated class, and that parliaments, if they exist at all, will have nothing to do with lawmaking.[103]

Utopian Democracies

The democratic schemes of government which have been put forward in Utopias exhibit a wide variety of features. Underlying them all is, of course, the principle that the supreme power belongs to the people; but as regards the most effective application of this principle the utopian adherents of democracy are far from being in accord, as the following account will show.

In the advocacy of democracy as the best form of government for an ideal state the pioneers are two Englishmen whose utopias appeared about the middle of the seventeenth century—Gott and Harrington. The former merely states that in Nova Solyma the magistrates who rule the state are elected annually at a general assembly of the people, and he enumerates the main offices that are so filled.[104] Harrington is more explicit, and his scheme for a representative democracy takes high rank as a practical proposal in the field of politics.

In Harrington's Oceana all offices are filled by men chosen by ballot who hold office for a limited term. In order to keep the government healthy Harrington establishes four mechanical contrivances—the ballot, indirect election, rotation in office, and a system of two chambers in which the functions of debating and

[101] *L'Anno 3000*, pp. 12 f.
[102] *A Hundred Years Hence*, p. 273.
[103] *Ibid.*, p. 267.
[104] *Nova Solyma*, II, p. 222.

voting are kept separate.[105] As H. F. Russell Smith points out, Harrington "attempted to combine the two opposing ideals of democracy—the glorification of average ability and the advancement of merit in whatever class it shows itself. By multiplying the number of offices and making vacations compulsory he ensured a certain amount of executive power to the ordinary man; by permitting future reëlection he provided for the retention of all who displayed ability in their first term of office." [106]

Two centuries elapsed between the publication of Harrington's *Oceana* and that of Cabet's *Icaria*, where another clearly delineated democracy is described. Cabet, as already pointed out,[107] stresses the principle of equality as the basic law of the commonwealth, and with a view to its universal application he vests the governmental agencies with complete control over all the activities of the people.

The National Representation, the Icarian Parliament, consists of two thousand deputies, elected two from each of the thousand communes or districts into which the country is divided. The Executive Power is not entrusted to a man alone, but to a body of sixteen members, each of whom is in charge of a government department. There is no President of the Republic, but only a President of the Executive Body.[108] This branch of the government is responsible to the Legislative Power, whose decisions, orders, and will it enforces and in whose name and in that of the People it always acts.[109] Each province and commune also has its own local government organized after the pattern of the central government.[110]

Bellamy, who, like Cabet, upholds the principle of human equality, draws up a novel scheme of government for a democracy. In his imaginary United States both capital and labor have been placed under national control by the year 2000, a development which is the natural consequence of the growth of huge corporations dominating the industrial field and of the corresponding organization of labor. There is now only the Great Trust, the nation itself, of which all citizens are *ipso facto* employees to be distributed according to the needs of industry.

[105] For an excellent discussion of these features of Harrington's scheme see Hertzler, *The History of Utopian Thought*, pp. 172-4.

[106] Russell Smith, H. F., *Harrington and His Oceana*, p. 49.

[107] See p. 98.

[108] Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 199.

[109] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

[110] *Ibid.*, pp. 199 ff.

All workers with the exception of medical men, educators, artists, and men of letters,[111] are members of the Industrial Army. The President of the United States is general-in-chief of the Industrial Army, and he is elected from among former heads of the central departments of the government. The chiefs of departments, who may be compared to army lieutenant-generals, are at the head of groups of allied trades. In turn each trade is represented by a bureau directed by a chief who is the general of his guild. The guild general appoints to the ranks under him. He himself is not appointed, but chosen by vote following a peculiar method which is also applied in the case of the higher officers, the heads of departments, and the President.

The peculiarity of Bellamy's voting system consists in the fact that the right to vote is granted only to retired members of the Industrial Army, who exercise it only in case their respective guilds are involved and in the election of the President. In the latter case their choice is limited to former heads of departments. The lieutenant-generals or heads of departments are chosen from among the generals of the guilds grouped as a department, and the guild generals from among the superintendents of colonels of the guild.[112] The voters are all men at least forty-five years old, the minimum age for retirement from the Industrial Army, and they constitute a body which Bellamy, with his characteristic optimism, believes to be well qualified for their office "as regards absolute impartiality, knowledge of the special qualifications and record of the candidates, solicitude for the best results, and complete absence of self-interest."[113] The outstanding democratic feature of Bellamy's politico-industrial system lies in the fact that all officers of the Industrial Army must have worked their way up from the rank and file, that is, from the grade of common laborer.

Another peculiar organization of governmental agencies in an imaginary democracy exists in Hertzka's Freeland. The various branches of administration, twelve in number, work quite independently of one another, and are under the supervision not of a single body, but of separate representative bodies. Consequently there are twelve principal executive departments with a director at the head of each, and twelve bodies of representa-

[111] *Looking Backward*, p. 193.
[112] *Ibid.*, pp. 187 ff.
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

tives from which the directors are chosen, who in turn nominate the subordinate officials.[114] The assemblies or representative bodies are elected by the people in place of a single parliament, and their functions are merely consultation and supervision.[115] Each department is in reality controlled by an administrative board elected by the community,[116] each board being analogous to the ordinary national ministries of our day.[117] Only the more important matters require that the heads of departments consult together beforehand upon the measures that are to be laid before the representative bodies.[118] Every inhabitant, without distinction of sex, who is above twenty years of age, has the right to vote.[119] Hertzka attributes to this scheme the virtue to secure truly efficient administrative authorities, to prevent party passions, and to promote social harmony.[120]

Utopian Anarchistic States

Having examined the main features of representative Utopian monarchies, aristocracies, and democracies, it will be well for us to consider at this point some Utopian regions where anarchy has prevailed over those forms of government. Our survey of Utopian governments would not have been complete if we had failed to discover the existence of several commonwealths where there is no law or a supreme power.

Such societies have been described by Morris, Blatchford, and Wells. In Morris' Nowhere "the whole people is the parliament," and they "have no longer anything which you, a native of another planet, would call a government."[121] The basic idea of this society is embedded in the following words: "It is true that we have to make some arrangements about our affairs . . .; and it is also true that everybody does not always agree with the details of these arrangements; but, further, it is true that a man no more needs an elaborate system of government, with its army, navy, and police, to force him to give way to the will of the majority of his *equals*, than he wants a similar machinery to make him understand that his head and a stone wall cannot

[114] *Freeland*, p. 122.
[115] *Ibid.*, pp. 144 f.
[116] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[117] *Ibid.*, p. 144.
[118] *Ibid.*, pp. 144 f.
[119] *Ibid.*, pp. 122 f.
[120] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[121] *News from Nowhere*, p. 104.

occupy the same space at the same moment." [122] Evidently Morris believes that in a society of equals recourse to organized force as embodied in government can be dispensed with. In his utopia "in matters which are merely personal, which do not affect the welfare of the community—how a man shall dress, what he shall eat and drink, what he shall read and write, etc.—there can be no difference of opinion and everybody does as he pleases. But when a matter is of common interest to the whole community and the doing or not doing is something that affects everybody, the majority must have their way."[123]

Blatchford bluntly informs us that the people of his anarchistic England, "this healthy, wealthy, and happy people, this great people, have no government at all: none of any kind." [124]

H. G. Wells's latest utopian effort resulted in the production of an anarchistic scheme.[125] His Men like Gods have no central government, no concentration of authority whatever; but as a rule they yield in everything to the possessors of expertness. Authority is diffused throughout the general body of the community; particular matters are decided by the experts best qualified to pass judgment upon them; decisions which require general observance do not need to be observed. If the experts' decisions are ignored or violated, an inquiry is made into the conduct of the offenders; for exceptional reasons may justify them. Failing this, their mental or moral health is investigated.

A certain group among these Men like Gods—the students of the general psychology of the race and of its educational organization—hold the balance of power between conflicting interests. But they do not constitute a ruling class in the sense that they exercise any arbitrary will. In short, government may be said to have been broken up and put in the hands of experts who have the best knowledge of the matters referred to them for decision.[126]

THE GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION

Educational Bearings of the Government in Utopias.—A significant conclusion that may be drawn from the preceding sur-

[122] *News from Nowhere*, p. 105.
[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 120 f.
[124] *The Sorcery Shop*, pp. 17 f.
[125] Mr. Wells has described an anarchistic society also in his romance, *In the Days of the Comet*. Here humanity is imagined to have been regenerated by the brush of a comet's tail.
[126] *Men Like Gods*, pp. 62 f. and 282.

vey of the Utopian forms of government is that agreement in regard to the best type of government for an ideal state cannot be easily reached by a group of social thinkers. Another not less significant conclusion is that such thinkers individually see possibilities for good in all the forms of government so far devised by mankind. It is with the latter conclusion that we are most concerned here because of our interest in finding out how the government in utopias serves as an agency of education.

Our purpose has been sufficiently realized in the preceding survey. Time and again it was seen that regardless of its form the government promotes the education of the people in various ways in utopias. It provides worthy incentives for the citizens' voluntary and unselfish participation in the political affairs of the commonwealth. It recognizes the importance of expert knowledge in dealing with the intricate problems with which society is often confronted, and uses and rewards the possessors of such knowledge. It likewise recognizes, even in cases when it is a monarchy or an aristocracy, the importance of the people's participation in public affairs and provides the means whereby that participation can be effectively obtained. Conversely, if it does all those things, it obviously discourages such dubious social phenomena as the practice of demagogy, the contempt of and lack of adequate reward for the expert, the belief in the spontaneous and unled wisdom of the people, and the consequent blind and irresponsible popular participation in the solution of highly complex social problems.

Coöperation in Education between the Government and Other Basic Institutions of Society.—In addition to the educational bearings of the Utopian systems of government just pointed out, it has been shown in preceding chapters of this study that, regardless of their form, most Utopian governments either control or coöperate with other institutions that, because of their nature, share in the process of education. Of these institutions the most important are the home, the church, and the school, the relations of which with the community and its governmental agencies have been previously discussed. As a whole, the interaction of all these institutions aims at the creation and maintenance: first, of a wholesome environment for the upbringing and education of the young, and for the continued education and other life activities of the adults, and, second, of a system of ethical standards, or morality, that will aid in sustaining the social order.

The Government and the Home.—It will be remembered that Plato and Campanella abolish the home, thus giving the community complete control over the rearing and education of its children. This drastic arrangement, however, is exceptional in utopias, most of which are satisfied with community supervision through regulations and customs over the marriage relation and with coöperation between the government and the home in the education of the children. The marriage regulations are chiefly concerned with the qualifications of the contracting parties, with the promotion of deliberation in marriage, and with racial improvement.[127] As a rule, the children in their infancy are under the complete care of their parents, and only after a certain age does the community lend a hand in their education or assume complete control of that process.[128]

The Government and the Church.—The government and the church must also coöperate, according to various utopians, by jointly promoting religious tolerance, mutual aid, and social solidarity.[129] Probably the earliest advocate of religious services to be participated in simultaneously by people of differing creeds was Sir Thomas More, whose example has been followed by other utopians.[130] Various utopians believe that the community, through its government, should exercise a restraining influence upon the activities of the ministers of religion. For instance, Owen would require them in return for their maintenance to teach "the spirit of universal love and charity" through precept and example, and Cabet would deprive them of all power.[131] Furthermore, it is proposed in some utopias that religious instruction to children should be forbidden, and that the individual's choice of a religious creed should be postponed until he is intellectually capable of a free and deliberate choice in this matter.[132]

The Government and the School.—The participation of the community in formal education has been fully discussed in the chapter dealing with the Utopian schools. It is to the community, as represented by the institution of government, that the utopians mainly entrust the formal education of the young. Pub-

[127] See pp. 35 ff.
[128] See pp. 43 ff.
[129] See pp. 48 ff.
[130] See pp. 50 ff.
[131] See pp. 53 f.
[132] See pp. 54 f.

lic officials are, as a rule, in control of the schools, and consequently determine their organization and administration and formulate their curricula. National departments of education,[133] exclusive community control over the upbringing and education of the children,[134] universal secondary and higher education,[135] school standardization,[136] coöperative schemes for vocational choice and training,[137]—these and other proposals variously advanced in utopias, all of them concerned with formal education, depend upon the participation of the community through its governmental agencies for their successful realization.

THE COMMUNITY AND INFORMAL EDUCATION

Through the institution of government the community promotes in utopias certain widespread enterprises that are essentially educational, aiming as they do at the perpetuation and improvement of the social order, at the encouragement and reward of successful mental or physical application, and at the welfare and happiness of society.

Those enterprises include the application of eugenics to mankind, the provision of worthy incentives to effort, the promotion of expertness, the making and dissemination of knowledge, and the formation of public opinion. The rest of this chapter will be devoted mainly to a discussion of the status of each of these collective actions in utopias.

THE EUGENICS MOVEMENT

The utopians are pioneers in the movement for the improvement of the human race through heredity, as shown by the regulations of the relations between the sexes and the marriage regulations and customs that they propose.[138] Plato and Campanella urge the exclusive control of the propagation of the race by the state and exclusively in the interest of the state. There is no imagination and no emotion in the sexual unions that they advocate; with them procreation chiefly serves the purpose of securing a healthy offspring as the best guarantee for the continued existence of the state.

[133] See pp. 60 f.
[134] See p. 60.
[135] See pp. 74 f. and 58 f.
[136] See p. 62.
[137] See pp. 85 ff. and 112 f.
[138] See pp. 35 ff.

Other utopians have likewise laid down measures of race hygiene, although none went to the extremes advocated by Plato and Campanella. Mention has been made above of the procedure favored by More and Bacon to make the prospective bridegroom and bride acquainted with the physical condition of each other; of Cabet's project of a Committee on the Improvement of Mankind; of Sweven's Council of Elders, one of whose functions is the regulation of marriage; and of Wells's demand for a sound physique as a prerequisite for marriage.[139]

Various practices for the prevention or elimination of antisocial conduct on the part of the unfit are suggested in utopias. The most common of these practices is banishment. Andreæ, the first utopian to apply this method, expels from his Christianopolis all recidivists after warnings, social ostracism, and punishments have failed to reform them.[140] Vayrasse sets apart a town to shelter all persons with physical or mental defects.[141] Sweven resorts to deportation for moral purposes, the Limanoran elders having concluded that nothing could be done for the cure of minor vices till the most vicious and defective characters had been eliminated.[142] The example of these utopians is followed by Wells in dealing with the unfit and the inadaptable. "Perhaps islands will be chosen," says Wells, "islands lying apart from the highways of the sea, and to these the State will send its exiles."[143] Criminals, habitual drunkards, drug users, and all other moral perverts will be sent to those islands, where the sexes will be segregated and escape from which will be prevented by appropriate means.[144]

Tarbouriech proposes sterilization as a means to prevent the reproduction of the unfit. Before a marriage is permitted the candidate must undergo a physical examination. If the physician-judge decides that the case justifies the action, he may impose a sentence of sterilization, the person so sentenced being allowed such safeguards of justice as counsel and the right of appeal.[145]

An additional eugenic measure urged by several utopians, one that clashes violently with the humanitarian feelings inculcated

[139] See pp. 37 f.
[140] *Christianopolis*, p. 257.
[141] *L'Histoire des Sevarambes*, pp. 69 f.
[142] *Limanora*, pp. 555 f.
[143] *A Modern Utopia*, p. 145.
[144] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[145] *La Cité Future*, pp. 304 f.

by civilization, is the exposure or slaying of deformed, weak, or sickly infants. This measure must be fathered on Plato,[146] but it has been advanced also by some of the modern utopians. Mantegazza, for whom "the suppression of babies destined to suffering and to premature death is true pity," deprives such babies of life with the consent of their parents.[147] In Saunders' Kalomera all infants born with physical deformities are sent to hospitals and in case there is no hope of overcoming their deformities an anæsthetic is applied to end their lives.[148] Death is also the fate of deformed and diseased infants in Wells's Modern Utopia.[149]

What is the relation between the eugenic program of the utopians and their advocacy of a wholesome environment for the improvement of the race?[150] Are not these social thinkers inconsistent in their simultaneous advocacy of eugenics and euthenics? It may be safely asserted that here we have only an apparent inconsistency. Eugenics and euthenics are in fact complementary sciences; for the former aims at the production of high native ability in mankind while the latter endeavors to provide a propitious environment to give that ability the amplest opportunity for full development. If both aims are simultaneously realized it is obvious that the beneficiaries of that happy conjunction will set about to improve still more the environment in which they are brought up. Conversely, high native ability may be sterilized under adverse environmental conditions; in fact, under such conditions its appearance may become an extremely rare occurrence.[151]

[146] See p. 35.

[147] *L'Anno 3000*, pp. 203 ff.

[148] *Kalomera*, p. 121.

[149] *A Modern Utopia*, p. 143.

[150] See footnote 3, p. 116, for a few utopian statements on euthenics. The arrangements that the utopians propose for the regulation of the material conditions of life and for its daily routine are also directed at the improvement of the environment and therefore have an underlying euthenic motive.

[151] The close relationship between eugenics and euthenics is clearly explained in the following words: "All that man inherits is the capacity to develop along a certain line under the influence of proper stimuli, food, and exercise. The object of eugenics is to see that the inherent capacity is there. Given that, the educational system is then needed to furnish the stimuli. The consistent eugenist is therefore an ardent euthenist. He not only works for a better human stock but, because he does not want to see his efforts wasted, he always works to provide the best possible environment for this better stock.

"In so far, then, as euthenics is actually providing man with more favorable surroundings—not with ostensibly more favorable surroundings which, in reality, are unfavorable—there can be no antagonism between it and eugenics. Eugenics is, in fact, a prerequisite of euthenics, for it is only the capable and

THE PROVISION OF WORTHY INCENTIVES

Another issue that the utopians have had to face is the provision of worthy incentives to effort in an ideal state. In view of the peculiar social, economic, and political organization usually found in the Utopian world, with its frequent abolition or restriction of property rights, with its consequent elimination or weakening of the motive of individual profit, and with its provision for the material needs of all the people, the problem of incentives assumes therein capital importance. Even in our world, where self-interest alone should suffice as an unfailing stimulus to effort, no little significance has been attached from time immemorial to the provision of means for calling forth the best efforts of the people in their life work. Let us see now how the same result is secured in utopias.

Judging from the wide variety of incentives resorted to by them, the utopians are well aware that without such stimuli the continued existence of their ideal states might be endangered through mistaken overreliance on unrewarded human nature. It is true that under the ideal conditions which they have portrayed, such base motives as fear of want, desire of luxury, and love of money have disappeared; but there still remain in most utopias such influential motives as the desire of power, of social position, and of reputation for ability and success, while in a few cases the unequal distribution of the goods of life in accordance with individual desert is used as an additional incentive.

Competition, then, has not ceased in the Utopian world, as has

altruistic man who can contribute to social progress; and such a man can only be produced through eugenics." P. Popenoe and R. H. Johnson, chapter on Eugenics and Euthenics in H. H. Newman, *Readings in Evolution, Genetics and Eugenics*, p. 487 (University of Chicago Press, 1921).

Professor E. L. Thorndike has likewise discussed the relation between eugenics and euthenics, although he seems to attribute to the former more importance than to the latter as a factor in the improvement of mankind. Says Professor Thorndike: "The danger of deterioration in physical and social conditions from breeding for intellect and morals is trivial. The effect is almost certain to be the opposite—an improvement in physical and social conditions. The more rational the race becomes, the better roads, ships, tools, machines, foods, medicines, and the like it will produce to aid itself, though it will need them less. The more sagacious and just and humane the original nature that is bred into man, the better schools, laws, churches, traditions, and customs it will fortify itself by. There is no so certain and economical a way to improve man's environment as to improve his nature. Each generation has of course to use what men it has to make the world better for them; but a better world for any future generation is best guaranteed by making better men." "Eugenics: With Special Reference to Intellect and Character," *Popular Science Monthly*, Aug. 1913, p. 134.

been shown time and again in foregoing sections of this study. In school and at work, in the everyday life of the people, and in their governmental institutions, ample scope is given to the competitive spirit of man as an attribute worthy of cultivation even under an ideal social order. Plato's guardians and Wells's Samurai are the finished product of rigid competitive processes. Fourier invents many devices to stimulate rivalry between groups, believing that their use will lead the groups to emulate one another and raise to a high perfection the branch of industry in which they are engaged.[152] To Sweven the chief spur to progress is the struggle of the individual in competition with his fellows.[153]

Many other instances could be given to show that the utopians take into account both human nature and human experience in their retention of competition. Their consensus of opinion has been admirably expressed by Wells in the following words: "There must be competition in life of some sort to determine who are to be pushed to the edge and who are to prevail and multiply. Whatever we do, man will remain a competitive creature, and though moral and intellectual training may vary and enlarge his conception of success and fortify him with refinements and consolations, no Utopia will ever save him completely from the emotional drama of struggle, from exultations and humiliations, from pride and prostration and shame. He lives in success and in failure just as inevitably as he lives in space and time."[154] But, Wells goes on to add, much may be done to make the margin of failure endurable. This is precisely what the utopians attempt to do in their imaginary countries.

The system of promotions, whereby those individuals are exalted in station, rank, or honor, who have shown the greatest ability in their respective lines of activity, is a favorite incentive in the Utopian world. It is applied in formal education by Plato,[155], Gott,[156] Tarbouriech,[157] and Saunders,[158] and in government most conspicuously by Plato,[159], More,[160] Campanella,[161] Bellamy,[162] Tarde,[163] and Wells.[164]

[152] *Oeuvres Complètes,* I, p. 295.
[153] *Limanora,* p. 527.
[154] *A Modern Utopia,* p. 139.
[155] See pp. 64 and 80 f.
[156] See p. 66.
[157] See pp. 67 and 75.
[158] See p. 75.
[159] See p. 140.
[160] See p. 137.
[161] See pp. 140 f.
[162] See pp. 145 f.
[163] See p. 139.
[164] See pp. 142 ff. and 148.

Little has been said by the utopians concerning the application of the principle of competition in the field of industry. Indeed, with the exception of Fourier and Bellamy, the utopians have failed to draw up finished schemes of industry, their discussions on this subject being limited either to general principles or isolated details. It is not surprising, therefore, that most of them have not expressed their ideas on such a limited topic as the use of competition as an incentive in industry. Bellamy alone expatiates on this subject, which is a natural consequence of the fact that his is a scheme in which the functions of government and industry are identified and placed in the hands of a single hierarchy.

Bellamy explicitly states that the objects of the Industrial Army are to supply incentives to effort and to secure both for the lower and higher positions of leadership men of proven abilities who are pledged by their own careers to hold their followers up to their highest standard of performance and to permit no lagging.[165] He therefore sets up an elaborate system of incentives. Individual records are kept from the time the young men enter the lowest grade of the Industrial Army, that of common laborers, and the standing given the apprentices among the full workmen depends on the average of their record during their apprenticeship. The different industries agree in the general division of workers into first, second, and third grades, according to ability, and periodical regradings are made. High grading gives the worker the privilege of electing which of the various branches or processes of his industry he will follow as his specialty. The results of each regrading are published in the public press, and those who win a promotion receive the nation's thanks and are publicly invested with the badge of their new rank. Minor incentives are provided in the form of special privileges and immunities in the way of discipline which the superior class men enjoy. Honorable mention and various sorts of prizes are awarded for excellence less than sufficient for promotion, and also for special achievements in the various industries.[166] Finally, as shown in our discussion on the Utopian forms of government, the highest places in the nation are open only to men of the highest ability.

A second type of incentive consists in the many public honors

[165] *Looking Backward*, p. 123.
[166] *Ibid.*, pp. 124 ff.

that are as freely dispensed in utopias as in our world. Crowns, wreaths, badges, and orders of honor are bestowed upon the men who have deserved well of their country;[167] panegyrics, songs, or hymns may serve as additional tokens of reverence towards them;[168] and statues, arches, pillars, and other public memorials are erected to their memory so as to perpetuate the remembrance of their actions and to incite posterity to follow their example.[169]

A public honor of this type, which does not carry with it any material reward, is the supreme honor in Bellamy's utopia. "The highest honor in the nation, higher than the presidency," says Bellamy, "which calls merely for good sense and devotion to duty, is the red ribbon awarded by the vote of the people to the great authors, artists, engineers, physicians, and inventors of the generation."[170]

H. G. Wells puts forward the unequal distribution of the goods of life as another motive for achievement. A Modern Utopia provides a minimum wage for all workers, and in addition it makes possible certain privileges for those who raise their personal value far above the minimum wage. "Inherited independence will be the rarest and least permanent of Utopian facts; for the most part that freedom will have to be earned, and the inducements to men and women to raise their personal value far above the minimum wage will be very great indeed." Among such inducements are privacies, liberty to go everywhere, and power and freedom to initiate interesting enterprises.[171]

The humane conditions under which work is done in utopias[172] also operate as incentives to uphold the efficiency of the workers. It is self-evident that under an organization of labor characterized by compulsory labor for all, short hours, congenial employment, abundant leisure, absence of correlation between work and social status, elimination of waste, and provisions for changes of occupation, all of which are variously advocated in utopias, the workers will be better disposed to put forth their best efforts in their work than in a society where those conditions are lacking.

[167] Campanella, *The City of the Sun*, p. 235; Berington, *Mémoires de Gaudence de Luques*, pp. 211 f.; Gott, *Nova Solyma*, II, p. 116.

[168] Berington, *op. cit.*, pp. 211 f.

[169] More, *Utopia*, p. 134; Bacon, *The New Atlantis*, p. 212; Howells, *Through the Eye of the Needle*, p. 185.

[170] *Looking Backward*, p. 164.

[171] *A Modern Utopia*, p. 155.

[172] See pp. 94 ff.

Several utopians recognize that mental and physical activity may occasionally be its own reward and that in such cases extrinsic incentives can be dispensed with. Cabet, for instance, asserts that "study, experiments, science and discovery, have so much attraction that they are loved for their own sake, without further interest, sacrificing on the contrary all other interests, braving all perils and all misfortunes, want and persecution, prison and death; judge then what a charm, what a sway, study must have for well-educated men, happy and without cares!" [173] Hertzka likewise holds that want has not been the sole or even the principal spring of human progress; that the best achievements of the human intellect in the past have been due not to want, but to those impulses that are peculiar to our race; and that it is just the well-to-do, the non-hungry, who most zealously press forward.[174]

No incentives at all is the rule in Morris' Nowhere. When an old savant of that utopia was asked how people are led to do their work, he replied that "The reward of labor is *life*," and that in the case of especially good work there is "Plenty of reward—the reward of creation—the wages which God gets, as people might have said time agone."[175] In the whole field of utopian literature—and possibly nowhere else—no greater tribute has been paid to work, no nobler terms have proclaimed its divinity, than those words of Morris. Work as its own reward is indeed one of the loftiest of utopian ideals. It dispenses with incentives because of the danger of meretriciousness and thus it safeguards another great utopian ideal—an all-pervading morality.

THE RECOGNITION OF EXPERTNESS

Closely related to the problem of the provision of worthy incentives is that of the reward of eminent expertness. It may be well to inquire at this point how the Utopian commonwealths recognize those individuals who have attained the highest ability in their respective fields of work.

The key to that question is found in our account of the various schemes of government in utopias. Therein it has been shown that, regardless of its form, the institution of government is made a channel into which high ability may flow, and find at

[173] *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 403.
[174] *Freeland*, pp. 221 ff.
[175] *News from Nowhere*, p. 126.

once opportunities for training and rewards for success. Under monarchy and aristocracy it is always the few who govern, and even under democracy such is often the case in utopias. They are allowed that privilege, however, only as the natural consummation of a long and rigid process of selection calculated to eliminate all but the most capable and persevering individuals.

The few rule most obviously in the aristocratic schemes of Plato, Campanella, Saint Simon, and Wells, and in the democracies conceived by Harrington, Cabet, and Bellamy. Plato and Campanella, as previously shown,[176] are advocates of an extreme division of labor whereby a small group of highly trained men is enabled to dominate the community. Saint Simon urges dual control of society by the leaders of industry and science,[177] while Wells in his Modern Utopia vests all political power and the function of administration in the order of the Samurai.[178]

The common people, the many, fare not much better under some of the Utopian democratic schemes. Even such an ardent democrat as Harrington proposes a law classifying the people into freemen or citizens, and servants. He denies the latter, while they remain in servitude, the right of participation in government on the ground that their position is inconsistent with that right.[179] In Cabet's Icaria it is obvious that the bulk of the power of organized government is in the hands of the sixteen members of the Executive Power and of the fifteen committees of the Legislative Power. Bellamy, granting the right to vote only to retired members of the Industrial Army, who are men at least forty-five years old, sets up in fact, as Mumford has pointed out,[180] a gerontocracy, or government by the aged.

The experts' paradise is no doubt found in the latest imaginary commonwealth conceived by H. G. Wells. Men like Gods live here, as already indicated,[181] under a perfect state of anarchy, and every affair that elsewhere would demand governmental action is here settled by the experts having the greatest knowledge about it; but their decision is not binding upon the individuals whom it may affect.

[176] See pp. 102 and 140 f.
[177] See p. 141 f.
[178] See pp. 142 f.
[179] *Oceana*, p. 83.
[180] *The Story of Utopias*, p. 164.
[181] See p. 148.

THE MAKING AND DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE

The Place of Research in Utopias

Eminent ability, as shown above, is duly rewarded in utopias. In a wide variety of ways it is accorded encouragement, recognition, and honor. Since it is conditioned by knowledge it becomes the duty of a community that aims at the production of ability to provide the conditions whereby new knowledge can be made, and both the new and the old disseminated. To this twofold problem—an educational enterprise of the greatest moment—we shall now turn our attention.

The making of new knowledge, the seeking of facts or principles—research, in a word—has been duly emphasized in utopias ever since Bacon drew up his famous plan for the House of Solomon. Many and varied are the proposals put forward by the utopians to further the quest of knowledge; but none perhaps merit more consideration than those advanced by Bacon, Saint Simon, and Wells, which will be singled out for detailed treatment here.

Utopian Systems of Research

In Bacon's New Atlantis the mainstay of the social organization is the House of Solomon, an order or society whose aim is "the knowledge of causes and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible." [182] Bacon would have this institution be the means "whereby God might have the more glory in the workmanship of them [all things], and men the more fruit in their use of them." [183] In modern parlance, its functions are both pure and applied research. It finds new knowledge and applies it to human ends.

The House of Solomon is provided with ample personnel and resources for the realization of its ambitious program. Its tasks are apportioned among eight groups of specialists, whose functions include travel in other countries, making compilations, carrying out experiments, interpretation of the observations and experiments made, application of the new knowledge acquired, formulation of new principles and theories, and publication of the results of research. It is also in charge of other public scientific services such as "natural divinations of diseases, plagues, swarms

[182] *The New Atlantis*, p. 202.
[183] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

of hurtful creatures, scarcity, tempest, earthquakes, great inundations, comets, temperature of the year, and divers others things," and "counsel thereupon, what the people shall do for the prevention and remedy of them." [184]

The mere enumeration of the equipment of the House of Solomon is a well-nigh formidable task. Caves and lakes for physical, chemical, and biological experiments;[185] towers "for insulation, refrigeration, conservation, and for the view of divers meteors—as winds, rain, snow, hail";[186] sanatoriums, including establishments for aërotherapeutics and hydrotherapy;[187] agricultural experimental stations;[188] zoölogical parks and laboratories;[189] food and drug laboratories;[190] physical and chemical laboratories;[191] astronomical observatories;[192]; museums of natural history;[193] instrument factories;[194] "a mathematical house, where are represented all instruments as well of geometry as astronomy"[195]—these constitute the bulk of the material resources of the House of Solomon.[196]

In brief, through the House of Solomon Bacon seeks the advancement of science and the consequent control of nature by man as the most effective means of securing the welfare of society. With his faith in the scientific method of inquiry and with his unflinching boldness and optimism, the English philosopher typifies the spirit of the Renaissance, of a movement hopeful of a time when mankind would be happy in this world.

Two centuries after Bacon, Saint Simon puts forward another comprehensive scheme for the discovery and spread of knowledge. In his scheme of government, as already stated,[197] the temporal power is vested in the leaders of business and industry, and the spiritual power in the scientists and savants. The latter are

[184] *Ibid.*, pp. 210 ff.
[185] *Ibid.*, pp. 202-4.
[186] *Ibid.*, p. 203.
[187] *Ibid.*, p. 204.
[188] *Ibid.*, pp. 204 f.
[189] *Ibid.*, pp. 205 f.
[190] *Ibid.*, pp. 206 f.
[191] *Ibid.*, pp. 207 ff.
[192] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[193] *Ibid.*, p. 208 f.
[194] *Ibid.*, p. 209 f.
[195] *Ibid.*, p. 210.
[196] It should be noted that in the inventory above given Bacon's quaint language has been translated into modern terminology. His detailed catalogue of the equipment of his famous foundation is a veritable medley that at times defies classification.
[197] See pp. 141 f.

organized into two academies,—the Academy of the Physical and Mathematical Sciences and the Academy of the Sentiments. The former draws up the "code of interests" and the latter the "code of sentiments"; that is, the former is in charge of the knowledge of the material side of human life, while the latter deals with knowledge of its spiritual aspects.[198]

Saint Simon believes that in the new society which he has imagined the Academy of Sentiments is, at least during the early days of the ideal régime, even more useful than the Academy of Sciences "because after twelve hundred years since the Arabs began to cultivate the sciences of observation as well as the mathematical, the study of morals has been more and more neglected, and because this branch of knowledge is far behind the physical and mathematical sciences." [199] In other words, Saint Simon laments the fact that the study of man and society has not kept pace with that of nature and things, and provides through the Academy of Sentiments a remedy for this deficiency. In the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences of his day he sees the precursor of his Academy of Sentiments. In the personnel of the latter he includes moralists, theologians, legists, poets, painters, sculptors, and musicians, the last three being included because "the makers of theories must not be separated from those that have gained distinction in their main application."[200] With his recognition of the necessity of the study of morals and with prominence that he gives in his scheme to the spiritual leaders of society, Saint Simon becomes the utopian apostle of the social studies.

He foresees the possibility of conflict between the two academies, one trying to bring the other under its control. In order to avoid friction between them and to coördinate their work, he creates an institution called the Supreme Scientific College, which fulfills its mission by harmonizing the principles enunciated by both academies, by formulating the general doctrine that serves as the basis of the public education of all classes, and by drawing up the code of general laws that will be of the greatest benefit to the majority in society.[201] Saint Simon is justified in regarding the Supreme Scientific College as the most important

[198] Saint Simon, *Du Système Industriel*, Vol. 10, pp. 26 f.
[199] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[200] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[201] *Ibid.*, pp. 29 f.

of all his social institutions since it obviously directs the general action of society.

With the scientific advance of the nineteenth century, which gave added impetus to the Industrial Revolution and resulted, for one thing, in the formulation of the Theory of Evolution, the utopians again reflect the spirit of their time and as in the days of the Renaissance, most of their works breathe boldness, hope, and optimism. Research, they confidently believe, will be a means for ushering in and maintaining the ideal social order.

Let us glance at some of the main features of the research work done in several utopias and at the means used to popularize its findings. Conceived about three decades after Saint Simon had drawn up his ideal scheme, Icaria provides large halls where in workshop and office scientists, artists, and scholars carry on their respective types of work, and it spares no expense for laboratories, museums, publication of books and journals of science, and scientific contests and gatherings.[202]

Limanora emphasizes the importance of variation as an indispensable element of progress. After its deportation of the undesirable elements of the community, it "recognized that the best chance of swift progress was the selection and preservation of the first variants in their character and thoughts." New tendencies of faculties discovered in an individual are recorded and reported to the Council of Sages, and then fostered if manifestly progressive or eradicated if hostile to progress. "Never was an idea or method of action rejected simply because it was new."[203] A considerable section of the community is devoted to pioneering for the race, exploring the possibilities of the future; and one of the chief duties of the imaginative pioneers is to prepare a vision of the time to come that will at once appeal to youthful fancy and fire it to renewed effort.[204]

Mantegazza sets apart an island—the Island of Experiments—where new social theories are tried in such a scale as to insure the validity of the conclusions arrived at through this method of wholesale experimentation. Polygamy, polyandry, asceticism, communism, etc., are thus submitted to the test of actual experience.[205]

[202] Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, pp. 126 f.
[203] Sweven, *Limanora*, pp. 38 f.
[204] *Ibid.*, pp. 230 f.
[205] *L'Anno 3000*, pp. 54 f.

Most recently among the utopians, Wells complains that in our world "fools make researches and wise men exploit them . . . and we thank Heaven for an assumed abundance of financially impotent and sufficiently ingenious fools."[206] In his Modern Utopia the creative workers of society—the scholars, scientists, and artists—are given honor and increased freedom as soon as they produce evidence of high ability. Through a great variety of incentives they are encouraged to exert themselves to the utmost in the work of research. Mines, industrial establishments, and systems of laboratories attached to every municipal power station are at the service of the researchers. The World State tries the claims to any materially valuable invention and pays or charges a royalty on its use that goes partly to the inventor and partly to the research institution that has produced him. The institutions of higher education reward promising young workers in the fields of literature, philosophy, and the social sciences with scholarships, fellowships, and lectureships. Committees variously constituted supplement the resources just enumerated through all sorts of grants and ensure due recognition to every contributor to the stock of Utopian knowledge.[207]

Furthermore, the super-Utopians that Wells has called Men like Gods are continually exploring, not only the world without, but the world within, unfolding the secrets of man's personality as well as those of the material world.[208] Continually they ask themselves, "What new thing shall we do to-day? What shall we change?" and this spirit of reform, this receptivity to change, has resulted in the transformation of "a wild planet of disease and disorder" into "a sphere of beauty and safety" and in the production of union, knowledge, and power under the pressure of human motives. Like Bacon's Neo-Atlantides, Wells's Men like Gods never flinch in their devotion to research. "Curiosity, and desire for more power and still more power consumes all their world."[209]

Research carried on on the gigantic scale conceived by Wells, in such stimulating circumstances, and in such a crusading spirit, cannot but have resulted in "the enlarging of the bounds of human empire," to use Bacon's pregnant phrase. Abundant and

[206] *A Modern Utopia*, p. 67.
[207] *Ibid.*, pp. 255 f.
[208] *Men Like Gods*, pp. 170 f.
[209] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

varied though its harvest is, all the knowledge that it has created, with the exception of personal facts about living people, is on record and as easily available as a complete series of indices, libraries, museums, and information offices can make it. In accordance with the principle of unlimited knowledge—one of five principles of liberty without which Utopian civilization is impossible—nothing is kept from any utopian, and nothing is misrepresented to him.[210]

Popularization of Knowledge

The utopians, as was indicated in the preceding account, are interested not only in the making of knowledge, but also in its popularization. A function of Bacon's House of Solomon is the publication of the results of its researches. Saint Simon's Supreme Scientific College formulates the general theories that form the core of the body of knowledge transmitted to the young through the process of education. Cabet adds the idea of holding scientific contests and meetings. Sweven places before the people a vision of the future as contemplated by the leaders of science. And Wells stands for the principle of unlimited knowledge as a pillar of his ideal society and through a great variety of devices places all knowledge, with the single exception of personal facts about living individuals, at the disposal of all the people.

Compilations and Summaries of Knowledge

The establishment of systems of research and the publication of their findings are supplemented by the publication of books purporting to present in condensed form the most important material available both in the general field of knowledge and in certain special fields. In other words, the utopians urge the use of encyclopædias, compilations, and résumés as effective means for the spread of knowledge.

More than a century before the French Encyclopædists of the eighteenth century came out with their famous work, Campanella had announced that in his City of the Sun the guardians of knowledge "have but one book, which they call Wisdom, and in it all the sciences are written with conciseness and marvellous

[210] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

fluency of expression. This they read to the people after the custom of the Pythagoreans." [211]

This idea of the abridgment of existing knowledge is found again in Mercier's utopia, which appeared soon after the publication of the French Encyclopædia and bears unmistakable marks of its influence. Mercier urges the need of a purgation of the bibliographical resources of mankind and the reconstruction of the structure of human knowledge. "This project appeared of infinite labor; but, in fact, we found it only necessary to destroy those useless fabrics that hid from us the true point of view."[212] The huge task is entrusted to scholars who are effectively aided by the flames; for all the books that they considered frivolous, useless, or dangerous, were piled together and set on fire. The scholars' labors result in the publication of the substance of thousands of volumes in a small duodecimo and in the retention of only a few books, the choicest books that the past had produced and that "by their merit had obtained the approbation of the new age."[213]

Morelly likewise seems intent on the protection of the people from the influence of spurious or useless knowledge. One of his Laws of Studies provides that "There will be a public code of all the sciences, in which nothing will be added to metaphysics or morals beyond the limits prescribed by the laws. Only those physical, mathematical or mechanical discoveries confirmed by experience and reason will be included." [214]

In Saunders' Kalomera the most remarkable feature in literature is the publication of a series of national compendiums—exhaustive works prepared under the direction of the various learned societies and containing in systematic form all available information on every subject concerning which it was possible to embody all existing knowledge in this form. These books are not encyclopædias, but rather monographs written by such writers as are most competent to deal with each subject. There is nothing in Kalomera resembling our bewildering masses of treatises and textbooks on all conceivable subjects.[215]

[211] *The City of the Sun*, p. 221.
[212] *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*, I, pp. 188 f.
[213] *Ibid.*, pp. 190 ff.
[214] *Code de la Nature*, pp. 105 f.
[215] *Kalomera*, pp. 240 f. See pp. 150 f. of *Kalomera* for Saunders' description of one of his proposed compendiums—The Book of Wisdom and Righteousness—which contains the social and moral code of Kalomera.

Foreign Travel as a Means for the Dissemination of Knowledge

A country can increase its stock of knowledge in two ways; namely, through the contributions of its own sons and through accessions gained from the stock of other countries. We have already seen how the first method is applied in utopias. A most effective means to make the second method fruitful is foreign travel. In view of this relationship of travel to knowledge it will be well to consider the provisions for and purposes of foreign travel in utopias.

The early utopians emphasize the educational importance of travel to a much greater extent than their modern successors. The reason for this difference is not far to seek. At the time when the former put forward their schemes the "grand tour" was the crowning consummation of the education of the future leaders of society, mankind lacking then the means that modern science has placed at our disposal for the diffusion of the knowledge of all peoples beyond their respective frontiers. The modern utopians, with the exception of H. G. Wells, do not sense so vividly the necessity of travel. Wells, let it be said in passing, advocates travel for reasons other than the acquisition of knowledge. His modern fellow-utopians apparently take it for granted that with the facilities for travel multiplied the people will travel in foreign countries, but not so much out of necessity as for the sake of pleasure.

In spite of changed conditions the early utopians' ideas concerning travel merit our close attention: we may find something to learn from them yet. Among those pioneers the first to realize the value of travel as a means of education was Bacon.[216] Every twelve years New Atlantis sends into foreign countries several groups of scholars and scientists of Solomon's House "whose errand is only to give us knowledge of the affairs and state of those countries to which they were designed; and especially of the sciences, arts, manufactures, and inventions of all the world; and withal to bring unto us books, instruments, and patterns in every kind."[217] The purpose is obvious. In Bacon's words, they "maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels, nor for silks, nor for spices, nor any other commodity of matter; but

[216] One of the most instructive essays of Bacon's deals with the subject of travel.

[217] *The New Atlantis*, p. 191.

only for God's first creature, which was light; to have light, I say, of the growth of all parts of the world." [218]

Campanella also puts travel to practical use. The inhabitants of the City of the Sun "continually send explorers and ambassadors over the whole earth, who learn thoroughly the customs, forces, rule, and histories of the nations, bad and good alike. These they apply to their own republic, and with this they are well pleased." [219]

Travel, as a factor in the education of the individual, is given a higher place by Harrington than by Bacon and Campanella. This was probably due to the fact that Harrington profited greatly by his extensive travels abroad, getting many ideas, especially in regard to the various forms of government, that he was able to incorporate in his Oceana. According to him there are six great agencies of education: the schools, the "mechanics" (agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce), the universities, the inns of court or chancery (hotels or residences for students and professors), travel, and military discipline.[220] For Harrington travel is an indispensable part of the statesman's equipment, unless an ample knowledge of history serves in its stead. In his own words, "no man can be a politician except he be first a historian or a traveler; for except he can see what must be, or what may be, he is no politician. Now if he has no knowledge of history, he cannot tell what has been, and if he has not been a traveler, he cannot tell what is; but he that neither knows what has been, nor what is, can never tell what must be, or what may be." [221]

Travel is allowed in Oceana for purposes of pleasure, business, or education, and the traveler is extended the assistance of his country's representatives abroad. Upon his return, if he is a young man, he must present to certain public officials an original report concerning the outstanding features of the life and government of either or several of the countries that he has visited. If worthy of the honor, the report is published at public expense together with a brief encomium of its author.[222]

H. G. Wells was singled out above as the only modern utopian who emphasizes travel as an important element of his ideal

[218] *The New Atlantis.*
[219] *The City of the Sun*, p. 224.
[220] *Oceana*, p. 177.
[221] *Ibid.*, p. 183.
[222] *Ibid.*, p. 173.

scheme. He does not do so for the sake of the knowledge that may be gathered in foreign countries, as the early utopians do; for his Modern Utopia is a world-state with a common tongue and a common culture. Wells merely rates travel among the exigencies of Utopian life. For him, freedom of movement is an essential of a utopia of world-wide scope, and it must involve not only "unrestricted pedestrian wanderings" but also "the idea of a world population travelled and travelling to an extent quite beyond anything that our native earth has seen."[223] "In a Modern Utopia travel must be in the common texture of life," and its population must be characterized by constant migration. This does not mean merely that the people travel frequently; it means that they change their residence frequently, that they are really a migratory people.[224] Wells holds that the old fixity of mankind was a matter of necessity and not of choice. In his Modern Utopia, on the contrary, a man may settle down at last for the sake of love and the family, but first he will see the world.[225] As in the case of the utopians of old, Wells includes travel as a part of the education of a young man. After the formal studies have been completed at about the age of twenty, a year is devoted to travel.[226]

PUBLIC OPINION IN UTOPIAS

The Place of Public Opinion in Utopias

Still another collective action of wide scope and significance that some Utopian communities promote for the sake of public welfare, and particularly in order to maintain the purity of their government, is the formation of public opinion. They provide the means by which all the elements that integrate them can freely express themselves on all subjects and make their influence felt in the sphere of public business.

Public opinion, it should be noted is not so important in the Utopian world as in the world we live in. In all fields of action —in education, in industry, in the use of leisure, in the observance of ethical standards, in the spiritual life, in government—the Utopian commonwealths are far ahead of the society that their authors individually contemplated here. There is less call for

[223] *A Modern Utopia*, p. 51.
[224] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[225] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[226] *Ibid.*, p. 303

controversy, less urgency of thought and reform, therefore, in Utopia than in our world, and with that there are fewer occasions for the alignment of the people into parties according to their opinions on controversial matters.

Nevertheless, not a few utopians have set forth the ways in which public opinion is stimulated in their ideal states. As already stated,[227] even the utopian monarchical and aristocratic schemes of government involve democratic features and with them the necessity of an enlightened public opinion. Furthermore, the referendum, the ballot, public audiences, free criticism and discussion are advocated here and there in utopias as means for the creation of public opinion and the realization of the public will.

Means for the Formation of Public Opinion

Let us now turn to a brief account of the means referred to above. It will be remembered that More provides that all important matters be referred to the representatives of the people, who in turn will consult their constituents and, after deliberation among themselves, report to the officials holding the executive power of the government. On great occasions the people may be called upon to decide the issues involved. More thus advocates the referendum, an institution which tends to stimulate public opinion. It is natural to suppose that the people will not pass upon the important matters referred to them without having previously discussed them and arrived at a deliberate conclusion.

Campanella institutes fortnightly assemblies in which the magistrates and the people gather together to discuss the affairs of the state. Free criticism of the former is encouraged. "Each one is asked separately to say what is wanting in the state, and which of the magistrates have discharged their duties rightly and which wrongly." After eight days the chief magistrate, his ministers, and their assistants, thirteen in number, meet for several days in succession with "the masters of all the bands," that is, with the leaders of the people. Again the state affairs are discussed and popular decisions ratified or amended by the supreme magistrate and his ministers.[228] It may be inferred that the eight-day interval between the general assemblies and the meetings of state ministers and people's delegates is used for the

[227] Page 149.
[228] *The City of the Sun*, p. 253.

purpose of allowing the people to discuss and pass upon public affairs.

The means proposed by More and Campanella to promote public opinion and to make its influence felt in governmental affairs are remarkable, considering that they were suggested at a time when political absolution was rampant in Europe. In those days free criticism, public discussion, public referendums, popular elections, safeguards from tyranny, were all conspicuous for their absence from the political scene.

Yet the proposals that those two utopians lay down as incentives to public opinion are surpassed both in variety and effects by those advanced by Harrington, who, writing as he did in the middle of the seventeenth century is in point of time only a generation nearer our time than Campanella. Indeed there are features in Harrington's scheme for the stimulation of public opinion—the idea of public forums, for instance—from the adaptation of which even the most democratic countries of the world might to-day derive no little profit.

What is, then, Harrington's scheme? It calls for the creation of an institution called the Academy of the Provosts intended to serve in a variety of ways the interests of the commonwealth. This institution provides the means for the political education of the people; it is a free avenue of expression for all elements of the community, and in particular for worthy, civic-minded individuals who may eventually become political leaders; it fosters the civic virtues of tolerance, open-mindedness, and critical-mindedness; and it enables the government to keep in touch with the people and to ascertain their opinions on public matters. In brief, it is at once a clearing house of public opinion and a political training ground for the people.

How does the Academy of the Provosts serve these high purposes? Attractive chambers are provided where citizens can meet collectively or in small groups, in open or secret meetings, with or without the provosts, who are the public officials in charge of the institution. Let us listen to Harrington's own words: "All sorts of company that will repair thither for conversation or discourse, so it be upon matters of government, news or intelligence, or to propose anything to the councils, shall be freely and affably received in the outer chamber, and heard in the way of civil conversation, which is to be managed without any other awe or ceremony than is thereto usually appertaining,

to the end that every man may be free, and that what is proposed by one, may be argued or discoursed by the rest, except the matter be of secrecy; in which case the provosts, or some of them, shall take such as desire audience into one of the withdrawing rooms." [229]

Furthermore, Harrington provides for the reception of letters on public matters, signed or unsigned, from individuals unable or unwilling to attend the meetings of the Academy. "And the provosts," Harrington says, "by the secretaries attending shall cause such notes out of discourses or letters to be taken as they please, to the end that they may propose, as occasion serves, what any two of them shall think fit out of their notes so taken to their respective councils; to the end that not only the ear of the commonwealth be open to all, but that men of such education being in her eye, she may upon emergent elections or occasions be always provided of her choice of fit persons." [230]

Harrington also institutes "Tuesday lectures" for the people as another agency for the guidance and promotion of public opinion. Competent speakers are chosen by the Senate to discuss before the people on every Tuesday those governmental matters that are at the time demanding action.[231] "For this commonwealth," says Harrington in giving his motives for these lectures, "is the estate of the people; and a man, you know, though he be virtuous, yet if he does not understand his estate, may run out or be cheated of it." [232]

[229] *Oceana*, p. 128. This idea of public forums is one that should be applied in modern society. More active, free, and widespread discussion on all issues, great and small, political, social, economic, religious, and what not, than at present takes place is greatly needed. Discussion is dreaded and therefore shunned. Modern society, as a rule, overlooks the educational value of the give and take of conversation and debate, and the individuals composing it are prone all too often to accept their ideas ready-made from the printed page, most commonly from their favorite newspapers. As President Angell has pointed out, "In the democracies of Greece the printed page was, of course, unknown, and in the earlier English conditions, the same thing was true. But it has been justly observed that conversation and discussion are more active forms of mental process than mere reading, and a constituency in which political issues are freely discussed may exhibit keen ability to think and a decidedly high order of intelligence in voting. The average newspaper, which conveys the larger part of the political information to contemporary voters, is actively partisan, presenting but one side of political issues, and yet the printed page carries a certain authority, especially with the partially educated, who are in no position to appreciate the selfish interests which may dictate the policies set forth as for the public welfare." "Some Reflections on Democracy and Education," *Yale Review*, XIV, April, 1925, pp. 421 f.

[230] *Oceana*, p. 128.

[231] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

[232] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

It is obvious that Harrington attributes no small value to public opinion as the basis of a democratic scheme of government. He realizes that without an alert and enlightened public opinion the four pillars of his political structure—the secret ballot, indirect election, rotation in office, and the two-chamber system in which the functions of debating and voting are kept separate [233] would collapse and thus pave the way for an oligarchy or a monarchy.

The manner in which Harrington's political scheme is constructed provides additional incentives to public opinion in various ways. The secret ballot is a safe and reliable outlet for it. Rotation in office, with the right of reëlection retained, incites the people to pass upon the merits of their servants and to reward or punish them as the apparent interests of the commonwealth may dictate. Finally, the Senate, in Harrington's bicameral parliament, through its sole function of debate is an educator of public opinion.

Of the modern utopians only Saunders and Wells have discussed at some length the subject of public opinion. In Saunders' Kalomera the public authorities have no means of enforcing obedience to their commands except in so far as they enlist the support of an enlightened public opinion, no special force being maintained by either the central or local authorities for the express purpose of subduing the insubordinate individuals.[234] Every citizen has the right either to suggest alterations in any of the established customs and regulations or to advocate such alterations among the people in general. However, the authorities almost always succeed in inducing the citizens who want some change to submit their views to a committee appointed for the purpose. Such a committee, consisting of people fully qualified for dealing with the subject in question, usually either convince those who are advocating the alteration that the proposed change is not calculated to serve the best interests of the community, or is itself convinced that the alteration is desirable. In the latter case the proposed alteration is usually carried into effect by the authorities concerned.

The general management of affairs in the Kalomeran towns is left to bodies constituted on decidedly oligarchical lines; but public meetings are frequently held for the discussion of impor-

[233] See pp. 144 f.

[234] *Kalomera*, p. 146.

tant matters. These meetings serve the purpose of focusing public opinion, and consequently keeping the local rulers informed as to the ideas of their townsmen; but they rarely interfere in the actual management of affairs. The Kalomerans hold the opinion that the actual decision in all matters of importance should be left to those who are finally responsible.[235]

Wells in his Modern Utopia provides for ample public discussion of issues before decisions on them are made. The administration presents elaborately detailed schemes of any proposed alteration in the laws or customs some time before steps are taken to carry it into effect and full criticism of it is made before the actual process of legislation begins.[236] In *Men Like Gods,* where the Utopians are described as having reached an even higher stage of development than that depicted in *A Modern Utopia,* Wells distinguishes news from discussion in regard to all matters. The people learn the news in certain houses provided with reading rooms. Reports are there received of all things happening in the whole world; news, and only news, appear in those reports, all discussion being omitted. However, the grayness of the reports is made up for by the liveliness of the public discussion;[237] for in this super-utopia the fifth and last principle of liberty is the principle of free discussion and criticism. This principle gives any man the right to discuss and criticize anything, provided he tells no lies about it, and the further right to propose anything however subversive.[238] From lying, however, he must refrain, another of the fundamental principles of liberty being that "Lying is the Blackest Crime"—lying in this case including any inexact statement of fact and even the suppression of a material fact.[239]

[235] *Kalomera,* pp. 178 f. This distinction between direct management by the people and delegation of power to qualified representatives of public opinion is a significant one. The trend of recent social thought is towards the latter alternative. "Thus we strip public opinion of any implied duty to deal with the substance of a problem, to make technical decisions, to attempt justice, or impose a moral precept," says Walter Lippman, a keen social philosopher, in a recent work, and adds: "And instead we say that the idea of public opinion is to align men during the crisis of a problem in such a way as to favor the action of those individuals who may be able to compose the crisis. The power to discern those individuals is the end of the effort to educate public opinion. The end of research designed to facilitate public action is the discovery of clear signs by which these individuals can be discerned." *The Phantom Public,* pp. 67 f. (Harcourt, Brace, 1925.)

[236] *A Modern Utopia,* pp. 81 f.

[237] *Men Like Gods,* pp. 274 f.

[238] *Ibid.,* p. 276.

[239] *Ibid.,* p. 273.

The Press as an Agency for the Formation of Public Opinion

In view of the importance attained by the press in our world as a means for the formation of public opinion, it may be well to inquire at this point whether it serves this purpose also in the Utopian world. In this respect we first note that in the early utopias nothing is said about the press, probably because this institution had not yet arisen or was only in its infancy when those utopias were conceived, and their authors failed to foresee the importance that it would eventually acquire.

Curiously enough, in the first two proposals regarding the press that appear in utopian literature, both of them put forward by Frenchmen, diametrically opposite methods of dealing with the press are advocated. Just on the eve of the French Revolution, Mercier asserts that "it has been abundantly proven that the liberty of the press is the true measure of the liberty of the people. The one cannot be attacked without injury to the other." [240] On the other hand, Babeuf and his Insurrectional Committee, drawing up their projects for social reform in the last days of the Revolution, favor the curtailment of the liberty of the press. They want to avoid its "calling into question the justice of equality, and the rights of the people, or delivering the Republic to interminable and disastrous discussions." [241] This is gag rule, applied in the name of the people. Nevertheless it is tyranny, tyranny of the organized force of society exercised against the dissenting individuals.

Mercier, then, would have the press present all points of view so as to provide the people with materials for judgment; Babeuf, on the contrary, would use it merely as an instrument for political indoctrination, and therefore would have it extol the virtues of the particular political system that he advocates. Yet these opposite views have a common source—recognition of the tremendous influence of the press as a molder of public opinion, of its power to sway the opinions of its readers, to inculcate upon them those principles or ideas which the powers that control it may, for some reason or other, advocate.

Cabet denies that influence to the press. In Icaria public opinion is formed not through the press, but through the communal, provincial, and national assemblies. The commune, prov-

[240] *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*, I, p. 47 f.

[241] Buonarroti, *Histoire de la Conspiration pour l'Egalité, dite de Babeuf*, I, pp. 291 f.

ince, and nation publish each its own newspaper, and no other newspapers are allowed. The journals contain only official reports, records of proceedings, statements, and facts, all without any discussion. Their editing is done by public officials elected by the people or their representatives. The right to offer proposals in the assemblies has taken the place of the liberty of the press, the hostility of which has been rendered unnecessary through the Icarian social and political organization. The Icarian newspapers, then, report, the movements of public opinion as they take place in the assemblies, but they do not attempt to influence the course of those movements.[242]

Such is not the case in Bellamy's utopia, where a thoroughly democratic plan is laid down intended to make the press a genuine exponent and maker of public opinion. Here the patrons of a newspaper defray the expense of its publication, choose its editor, and remove him when unsatisfactory. The plan in detail is as follows: A group of persons interested in founding a newspaper reflecting their opinions, and devoted especially to their locality, trade, or profession, go about among people until they get subscribers enough to pay for the cost of the paper. The amounts of the subscriptions are deducted from the credits granted by the nation to the citizens that have subscribed. The nation is thus guaranteed against loss in publishing the paper, its business being purely that of publisher, with no option to refuse the duty required. The subscribers then elect somebody as editor, who if he accepts the office, is discharged from other service during his incumbency. The editor does not receive any salary; instead the subscribers pay the nation an indemnity equal to the cost of his support for taking him away from the general service. The editor manages the paper, and at the end of the first year the subscribers for the next reëlect the former editor or choose any one else in his place.[243]

T. B. Russell harks back to Cabet's idea of newspapers devoid of discussion. In *One Hundred Years Hence* he asserts that the newspaper will be entirely a vehicle for the propagation of news and that very likely it will become entirely colorless because a well-informed public will resent garbling or unfair selection, will want to know what is said on all sides, and will arrive at its

[242] *Voyage en Icarie*, pp. 197 f.
[243] *Looking Backward*, pp. 166 ff.

own conclusions instead of accepting them ready-made from other people.[244]

The separation of news from discussion is the outstanding feature of the utopian newspaper press. The latter function, as shown above, Cabet entrusts to other agencies, particularly the people's assemblies, while Russell would merely let it take care of itself in a highly cultured society. The latter is also the case with Wells who, as it will be remembered, would provide full reports on everything happening in the world and at the same time allow the people the right of free discussion and criticism.

CONCLUSION

The Imponderable Influence of the Community as an Educational Agency

It has been shown that the Utopians attach very great importance to the community as a determinant of the character of mankind. Among the factors in the community that have molded and continue to mold human character in the Utopian world so as to make possible the establishment and maintenance of an ideal social order are: the rational arrangement of everyday affairs, with its emphasis on all-round development of the individual through adequate work, leisure, and rest; the democratic elements in government, even under monarchy and aristocracy; the coöperation and mutual regard between the various formative institutions of society—home, church, school, government, press, theater, etc.; the equality of opportunity that as a rule exists in all fields of endeavor—in education, in industry and the professions, and in the government; the widespread facilities for the acquisition of knowledge and the formation of public opinion; the provision of worthy incentives to effort; and the recognition accorded to the possessors of expert knowledge. These factors combine to produce an infinitude of effects on individuals which can hardly be estimated, let alone accurately measured.

Several facts stand out in regard to the forces that shape the Utopian character. First, their influence begins at the birth of the individual and lasts throughout his life. In other words, education is a lifelong process in utopias. Evidences of this fact are

[244] *A Hundred Years Hence*, pp. 71 f.

the provisions made, on the one hand, for education in infancy,[245] and, on the other hand, for adult education.[246] Second, no single agency holds the hegemony in the education of the individual. He is under the simultaneous influence of a wide variety of agencies, each of which contributes to the formation of his character. What he is is not due to any single agency, but to all the forces of the environment acting in conjunction with his native endowments. Third, the Utopian social order is impossible without the utmost harmony and coöperation between all formative agencies. None of these must work at cross-purposes with the rest. The newspaper, the theater, the home, for instance, must not nullify the work of the church and the school. Fourth, the forces enumerated above predicate the principle that the individual is the creature of circumstances and the consequent necessity of facilitating his success in life through the improvement of both his heredity and his environment. Because the conditions just pointed out obtain in the Utopian world education in it is life itself, and not merely the preparation for life.

[245] See, for example, pp. 35 f. and 43 ff.

[246] Facilities for study and research, lectures, debates, and conversation at mealtime and during leisure hours; opportunities for variety of work and change of occupation; the institution of government; the press and the theater—all these are means for the education of adults in utopias.

CHAPTER IX

WOMEN IN UTOPIAS

This account of Utopian education would be incomplete should it fail to show the place assigned to women in the Utopian social order and the process by which they are trained for that place. As in our world, women play in utopias an important part in the education of the rising generation, and as homemakers, as industrial and professional workers, and as citizens their assistance is indispensable for the maintenance of the established social order. It is in their power to build or to destroy, to elevate or to degrade mankind, to uphold or to tear down the social structure.

Of course, it is natural to expect that in utopias women have found outlets for their energies and opportunities for self-realization through constructive channels. Lacking this condition, a society cannot be called ideal, however advanced it may be otherwise; for its stability would be as hazardous as that of a house divided against itself. Feminine indifference to, and inactivity in, the problem of human progress is dangerous enough; but still worse is a state of society where men and women, divided into two camps, work at cross-purposes and frustrate each other's constructive efforts.

Let us, then, examine the rôle of women in utopias. Their social, political, and economic status, their work in and out of the home, the education that fits them for their position in society—a discussion of these subjects will be the purpose of this chapter.

THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF WOMEN

The utopians are among the foremost champions of women's rights. With the exception of several pioneers of this group of thinkers,[1] they advocate the equality of the sexes. They place

[1] As indicated above (p. 40), More and Bacon advocate the patriarchate as the ideal family type, thus subordinating the whole family to the father. Berington, Mercier (footnote 47, p. 42), and Grivel (*L'Isle Inconnue*, I, p. 325) likewise place the women in a position of inferiority in society.

women, whether as citizens, as economic agents, or as participants in the amenities of life, on a level of equality with men, allowing only those differences in status that are determined by the physiological differences of the sexes.

A most remarkable feature of Plato's Republic is the theory of the equality of the sexes expounded therein and fearlessly applied in his ideal scheme. He holds that native endowments are equally distributed among men and women, and that therefore they all must do the same kinds of work. "There is no special faculty of administration in a state which a woman has because she is a woman, or which a man has by virtue of his sex, but the gifts of nature are alike diffused in both; all the pursuits of men are the pursuits of women also, but in all of them a woman is inferior to a man. . . .[2] "Let the wives of our guardians strip, for their virtue will be their robe, and let them share in the toils of war and the defence of their country; only in the distribution of labours the lighter are to be assigned to the women, who are the weaker natures, but in other respects their duties are to be the same." [3] The men will share with the women the government of the state; for "men and women alike possess the qualities which make a guardian; they differ only in their comparative strength or weakness." [4] During the marriage festivals care must be taken that men and women of equal capacity are paired together.[5] And since the native qualities and work of men and women are the same, the women will be given the same education as the men.[6]

With his theory of the equality of the sexes, Plato transcended his time by more than two thousand years. Not until the nineteenth century did any of Plato's fellow-utopians agree with him in giving the women a status in society coördinate with that of the men. The two passages that follow typify the modern utopians' views regarding the ideal status of women: "Woman will be economically, socially, politically, the equal of man," says Tarbouriech. "She will take part with him in public, intellectual, and artistic life. She would not be able to attend meetings, gatherings of all kinds, concerts, theaters, if she were kept at home by the babies." [7] To which Sweven adds that

[2] *The Republic*, Book V, p. 148.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[5] See p. 35.
[6] *The Republic*, Book V, pp. 148 f.
[7] *La Cité Future*, p. 312.

"the higher, the more spiritual we become, the less we permit sex to dominate, and the less difference there is between the sexes. It was in the world of imagination and intellect that the first idea of equality of the sexes arose. And the more intellectual a people became, the less it insisted on the difference between man and woman. Emphasis on sex in a civilized people was a sure sign of approaching decay." [8]

The peculiarity of woman's condition, of her place in society, and of the problems of her sex, is best emphasized in utopias by Bellamy and Saunders through the unique arrangements that they put forward as best calculated to meet woman's needs and ambitions. Each of these two utopians institutes nothing less than a separate government for women in his ideal commonwealth.

Bellamy enrolls the women in the Industrial Army, but not under the same system of ranking and discipline with the men, because of differences in the conditions of labor of the two sexes. The women constitute an allied force rather than an integral part of the army of men. They have a woman general-in-chief and are under an exclusively feminine régime. The women's general and also the higher women officers are chosen by the body of women who have passed the time of service, following the method by which the nation's president and the chiefs of the masculine army are elected. The general of the women's army sits in the president's cabinet and has the veto power of measures respecting the work of women, pending appeals to Congress.[9]

A woman does not necessarily leave the industrial service on marriage, but only when her maternal duties claim her.[10] The attraction of each sex for the other prevents that the girls' interest in their careers as members of the Industrial Army may deter them from marriage. So far is marriage from being a hindrance to a woman's career, that the higher positions in the feminine army of industry are entrusted only to women who have been both wives and mothers, as they alone fully represent their sex.[11]

In Saunders' utopia the practical equality and separate interests of the two sexes have resulted in the duplication of many of the more important offices. Thus there are two principal

[8] *Limanora*, pp. 448 f.
[9] *Looking Backward*, p. 258.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 255 f.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 260 f.

rulers, both elected exclusively by members of their own sex, and both holding office for life. These rulers, however, do not exercise the supreme direction of affairs conjointly, but alternately, the headship of the state passing, on the death of the male ruler to the surviving female ruler, and vice versa.[12] The administrative departments that control matters of common interest are composed of individuals of both sexes, the headship of each department alternating between the sexes as in the case of the supreme magistracy. The industrial departments, which are almost entirely concerned with men's affairs, are wholly controlled by men; but the women's department, which exercises general supervision over all the affairs of women, is composed entirely of women.[13]

The peculiar position occupied by the women's department shows most clearly the high regard in which women are held in Saunders' Kalomera. This department, which is always presided over by a woman, not only exercises certain functions peculiarly its own, but also has certain powers of supervision and coördination over the work of several of the mixed departments, notably of those of health and education, so far as their work is concerned with women and children. Moreover, while the other departments are always subject to the authority of the head of the state, whether this happens to be a man or a woman, the women's department is subject to the female ruler alone at all times. The functions regarded as belonging more strictly to the women's department are the supervision of women's ordinary domestic duties and the training of girls in the proper performance of these duties.[14] The local representatives of the department are women officials who with the assistance of women's councils exercise general control over all affairs of women in the Kalomeran towns and cities. The matters which affect the men alone are controlled by councils of men. If both sexes are equally concerned in any matter, the two councils combine for its settlement.[15]

As implied in their advocacy of political equality for men and women, the utopians make the women economically independent of the men. This economic independence of women is buttressed, on one side, by their political status, and, on the

[12] *Kalomera*, p. 146.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 158 f.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

other side, by their participation in the work of the Utopian world.

The most advanced ideas regarding the economic independence of women have been set forth, in the field of utopias, in recent times. As pointed out above,[16] several utopians consider such independence as one of the main factors for success of marriage. "We have given them [the women] a world of their own, with its emulations, ambitions, and careers . . . ," says Bellamy in his discussion of the place of women in his ideal society. "No woman is heard nowadays wishing she were a man, nor parents desiring boy rather than girl children. Our girls are as full of ambition for their careers as our boys. Marriage, when it comes, does not mean incarceration for them, nor does it separate them in any way from the larger interests of society, the bustling life of the world." [17]

The complement of the principle of economic independence of women is the principle of the endowment of the family, advocated by Hertzka, Tarbouriech, and Wells.[18] Hertzka's pension scheme provides for the endowment not only of mothers, but of unmarried women, old men, and individuals unfit to work. As regards the endowment of women, Hertzka's main purposes are the elimination of mercenary considerations in marriage on the part of the women and the creation of other conditions that make for success in married life.

In view of the unique character and comprehensive scope of Hertzka's endowment scheme it merits detailed consideration at this point. The scheme in question grants to every unmarried woman three-tenths of the average pay of a Freeland worker, a right that is based on the following considerations: (1) the main profession assigned to women by nature is to bear and bring up children and to cultivate all that is fine, noble, and beautiful in life; (2) this right prevents many women from trying to get support by being married, from looking upon a husband as a provider and upon marriage as a refuge from material need; while, on the other hand, it makes it possible for her to follow altogether the dictates of her heart, adds to the dignity of marriage, and enhances the prospects of happiness in married life; (3) single women that work are liable to be enticed away

[16] See p. 42.
[17] *Looking Backward*, pp. 259 f.
[18] See p. 41.

from their peculiar profession, led into false tracks in their cultivation, and condemned to economic dependence.[19]

Let it be said, in passing, that in spite of their right to maintenance, many women are engaged in remunerative employment in Freeland; for women are entitled to receive only three-tenths of the average pay of a workman, and some of them wish to have more. Those who work outside their houses are employed to do brain work, to take care of children and to assist other women who require help.[20]

A married woman receives from the state three-twentieths of the average pay of a worker, that is, one-half the amount paid to a single woman. This frees the wife from complete dependence upon the husband, and is justifiable on the ground that her housekeeping work is partly called forth by her own personal needs.[21] Furthermore, women who have to take care of their households and their children cannot, as a rule, make a living at the same time without overburdening themselves.[22] A married woman's allowance is increased with the birth of children until it again reaches the full allowance of a single woman. This makes up for the increase in the family burden, an increase that is especially connected with the wife.[23]

Families having children receive one-twentieth of the average pay of a Freeland worker for each child under age. This amount is doubled in case of death of one of the parents. This right is granted because if children were thrown upon the voluntary thrift of their parents they would be made dependent on conduct upon which they can exercise no influence, and they must be protected from privation irrespective of the actions of their parents.[24]

Finally, old people and those incapacitated for work also receive allowance, men to the extent of four-tenths and women three-tenths of the average pay of a worker.[25]

In general, concludes Hertzka, these pensions "not only suffice to prevent those to whom they are granted from suffering want, but also enable them to share in all those pleasures and comforts

[19] Hertzka, *Freeland*, pp. 139 f.; *Visit to Freeland*, pp. 73 ff.
[20] *Visit to Freeland*, p. 69.
[21] *Freeland*, p. 140.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 141; *Visit to Freeland*, p. 74.
[23] *Freeland*, p. 140.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 238.
[25] *Visit to Freeland*, p. 70.

which are at the time usual in Freeland and correspond to the common wealth." [26]

H. G. Wells asserts in defense of the endowment of motherhood that "as long as women suffer from their economic inferiority, so long will their legal and technical equality be a mockery" and that "almost every point in which woman differs from man is an economic disadvantage to her." Wells proposes equalization between the sexes in what he believes the only possible way, "by insisting that motherhood is a service to the state and a legitimate claim to a living, and that since the state is to exercise the right of forbidding or sanctioning motherhood, a woman who is, or is becoming, a mother, is as much entitled to wages above the minimum wage, to support, to freedom, and to respect and dignity as any state official." Wells then outlines his scheme of endowment of women. First, the state secures to every woman who is becoming or likely to become a mother under legitimate sanctions a certain wage from her husband so as to free her from toil and anxiety. Second, the state pays the mother a certain gratuity upon the birth of a child and continues to pay at regular intervals sums sufficient to keep both mother and child in freedom, so long as the child keeps up to the minimum standard of health and physical and mental development. Third, the state pays more upon the child when it rises markedly above certain minimum qualifications, physical or mental. Fourth, it forbids the industrial employment of married women and of mothers who have children needing care, unless they are in a position to employ qualified substitutes to take care of the children. In short, the state does its best to make thoroughly efficient motherhood a profession worth following.[27]

THE WORK OF WOMEN

Beginning with Plato, the utopians, as already shown, insist that women should take an active part in the work of the world. As a corollary of their advocacy of the principle that an individual's occupation should be determined by his or her native inclinations and ability,[28] the utopians have time and again

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[27] *A Modern Utopia*, pp. 185 f. For an account of experiments at present being made in the application of the principle of the endowment of the family in several countries see Eleanor F. Rathbone, *The Disinherited Family: A Plea for the Endowment of the Family* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1924).

[28] See above pp. 99 ff. for a discussion of this principle.

stated that in the field of work the women shall engage only in occupations that will not tax their physical powers or endanger their health.[29]

With the sole qualification just pointed out, a convention of equality for both sexes prevails in all fields of activity in utopias. Not even the highest positions in the state are denied to women in many utopias. Plato, the utopian leader, makes them guardians if they meet the requirements of the position; Wells, the most prominent living utopian, grants them membership in the order of the Samurai. In More's Utopia, as an extraordinary concession, "sometimes the women themselves [the priests' wives] are made priests, though that falls out but seldom, nor are any but ancient widows chosen into that order." [30]

A younger utopian country—Cabet's Icaria—offers increased professional opportunities to women. Women physicians and surgeons take care exclusively of women patients,[31] women judges try the members of their sex accused of any transgression of the law,[32] and priestesses minister to the spiritual needs of women.[33]

Bulwer-Lytton's Coming Race marks the nearest approach to a gynecocracy found in the Utopian world. The women, who are endowed with superb physical powers, are "the scholars, the professors—the learned portion, in short, of the community." [34] The College of Sages of this utopia is especially favored by the young unmarried females and by such men as are widowed and childless. It is out of this college that the Tur, the chief magistrate of the country, selects the councilors, limited to three, in

[29] See the quotation from Plato above, p. 180, and consider the following:

"Women, for the most part, deal in wool and flax, which suits best with their weakness, leaving the ruder trades to the men." More, *Utopia,* p. 97.

"There are occupations, mechanical and theoretical, common to both men and women, with this difference, that the occupations which require more hard work, and walking a long distance, are practiced by men [while] all sedentary and stationary pursuits are practiced by the women." Campanella, *The City of the Sun,* p. 231.

"The kinds of occupations reserved for women and the conditions under which they pursue them, have reference to the facts that they are inferior in strength to men, and further disqualified industrially in special ways. The heavier sorts of work everywhere are reserved for the men, the lighter occupations for the women." Bellamy, *Looking Backward,* p. 257.

See also Grivel, *L'Isle Inconnue,* II, p. 116; Mercier, *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante,* I, p. 124; Sweven, *Limanora,* pp. 588 f.

[30] *Utopia,* p. 157.

[31] *Voyage en Icarie,* p. 115.

[32] *Ibid.,* p. 134.

[33] *Ibid.,* p. 172.

[34] *The Coming Race,* p. 191.

the rare instances in which his judgment is perplexed by the affairs of state.[35]

Finally, Bellamy and Saunders, as shown above, go as far in their advocacy of equality of the sexes as to set up a separate government for the women. Bellamy organizes them for participation in the work of the nation as a part of the Industrial Army, with their own woman general-in-chief and women leaders. Saunders allows the men to monopolize the industrial departments; but he makes them share with the women on a basis of equality the opportunities in science, art, literature, and the administrative work of the mixed departments, while in household management, in the teaching profession, and in the women's department the women enjoy a complete monopoly.

Disagreeing with the views that have just been presented, certain utopians are of the opinion that women are best fitted for and most needed in domestic work. They place little or no emphasis on the participation of women in industrial, administrative, and professional work. For them the home is woman's ideal field of action. The care of the home, the rearing of children, the doing of things that contribute to the refinement and amenities of life, and certain vocations like teaching and nursing,—these are the ideal functions of women in society, according to these utopians.

The leader of this group is Andreæ. He would teach the women the household arts with a view to their application in the home, an arrangement which he believes compatible with higher intellectual endeavors. "Whatever scholarship they have, being mentally gifted," says Andreæ, "they improve diligently, not only to know something themselves, but that they may sometimes also teach. In church and in the council hall they have no voice, yet none the less do they mold piety and morals, none the less do they shine with the gifts of heaven." [36]

Mercier frees the women from all heavy tasks and like Andreæ places them back in the home, to attend "to those duties only which the Creator has enjoined upon them—to bear children and be the consolation of those who protect them from the evils of life." [37]

More recently, Hertzka, Morris, and Saunders have expressed similar views. For Hertzka woman's duty lies in inculcating

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 49 f.
[36] *Christianopolis*, p. 260.
[37] *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*, I, p. 27.

the love of the beautiful among the adults and in caring for the intellectual and physical development of the young.[38] Morris, in whose Nowhere all of the complexities of modern life have disappeared and a truly Arcadian existence is enjoyed by mankind, asks with taking ingenuousness: "Don't you know that it is a great pleasure to a clever woman to manage a house skilfully, and to do it so that all the housemates about her look pleased and are grateful to her?" [39] To which Saunders adds that in his ideal state "the women do just those things they really like doing, the men do all the rest, whether they like it or not." [40]

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

The types of education of women advocated by the utopians depends on the functions in society that they assign to women. Those utopians who favor the utmost participation by women in all fields of work extend to them opportunities for education from which they were deprived in the real world. On the other hand, the utopians for whom the home is the women's ideal workshop emphasize a curriculum that will fit them for their domestic duties.

At the head of the first group stands Plato with his proposal that since women are to have the same duties as men they must have the same education, and accordingly be taught music and gymnastics, and also the art of war.[41] Such an extreme view has not found acceptance among Plato's successors, with the possible exception of Campanella. The radical Italian monk seems to be willing to follow Plato to the limit in the education of women as he does in the abolition of property and the community of women; for he says that in the City of the Sun "practice makes the women suitable for war and other duties. Thus they agree with Plato, in whom I have read these same things." [42] As shown above, other utopians open to the women, at the most, the fields of industry and administration and the professions, it being implied that they will be given the necessary education.

Among the utopians who advocate the training of women for the home Andreæ again leads with a scheme of education of women—a remarkable feat for a man of the seventeenth cen-

[38] *Freeland*, p. 140.
[39] *News from Nowhere*, p. 84.
[40] *Kalomera*, p. 28.
[41] *The Republic*, Book V, p. 143.
[42] *The City of the Sun*, p. 239.

tury. In his Christianopolis women are given a liberal education,[43] and in addition are taught the household arts.[44] The girls while receiving their education live in dormitories, and are instructed by competent men and women.[45] Especial care is taken "that those men who are placed over the youth have such wives as can teach the young women and the girls." [46]

In modern times several utopians have likewise emphasized the necessity of training the women for the peculiar duties of their sex. Cabet, for example, while providing equal educational opportunities for both sexes and allowing the women to enter the professions, provides at the same time for thorough training in the obligations of motherhood. In his Icaria the duties of married life are taught to both young men and young women as soon as they contemplate marriage.[47] "Not one woman lacks the knowledge that she must possess: endowing the Republic with children as perfect and as happy as possible being considered as the most important of all public functions, the Constitution does not neglect anything to make the mother capable to fulfill perfectly this function." [48] Soon after marriage the husband and wife are instructed in all that they must know in the interest of the mothers and children. Courses for mothers are given by mothers trained for the purpose. The mothers are taught not only to care for the physical development of their children, but since they have complete charge of the education of their children up to the age of five they are also trained to direct the intellectual and moral education of infants.[49]

In Hertzka's Freeland after the girls have completed, at the age of sixteen, their academic education,[50] they are given a choice from among three courses of action, all of which involve training of some sort, one formally in vocational or art schools, and the other two informally in the homes. First, the girls may

[43] "I do not know why this sex, which is naturally no less teachable, is elsewhere excluded from literature." *Christianopolis*, p. 210.

[44] "Married women make use of the knowledge which they acquired in college. For whatsoever human industry accomplishes by working with silk, wool, or flax, this is the material for woman's arts and is at her disposal. So they learn to sew, to spin, to embroider, to weave, and to decorate their work in various ways. Tapestry is their handiwork, clothes their regular work, washing their duty." *Ibid.*, p. 260.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 247 f.

[47] *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 140.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 75 f

[50] See p. 67.

receive training in teaching, nursing, or the arts in appropriate schools. Second, they may remain at home, and there complete their education in those arts or subjects the elements of which they have already received. Third, they may complete their education by becoming pupil-daughters under highly cultured and intellectually gifted women in whose homes and under whose direction the girl's education is continued in an informal manner.[51]

Through the last two methods Hertzka adapts the system of apprenticeship of the training of girls for domestic work. He commends in particular the third method,—informal training under highly educated women. Nothing, according to Hertzka, refines the intellect and manners of developing girls more than the most intimate intercourse with superior women. It is considered a great honor and privilege by the girls to be received in the homes of such women, where they are regarded and treated exactly as if they were children of the family and they tender to their adoptive parents the same service as daughters.[52]

Saunders, on the contrary, favors formal training for the girls in subjects appropriate to their sex. In his Kalomera higher training in cookery, domestic hygiene, and other branches of domestic economy is given in colleges maintained by the women's department of the national government. The young women trained in these institutions are usually such as have been selected because of their special aptitude in one or other of these subjects.

H. G. Wells is not outdone by his utopian predecessors in his provisions for the education of women. He applies in their case the principle of equality of opportunity, thus opening to them all curricula and all educational institutions, regardless of the privileges that the completion of the former and study and research in the latter may confer upon the women.[53] They are also admitted into the order of the Samurai after they have met the many and exacting requirements of the Rule of the Order. As Samurai the women have the right to share with the men the political power and to engage freely in the professions and administrative work.[54]

Mention should be made of the fact that the marriage and

[51] *Freeland*, p. 232.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 193.
[53] See pp. 67 ff. for a sketch of Mr. Wells's curricula.
[54] See pp. 142 ff.

family regulations and customs must needs have a marked influence in the education of Utopian women. Such must be the case particularly with the regulations and customs concerning the age, physical and mental condition, and previous acquaintance of the aspirants to marriage, the size and means of support of the family, and the respective position of husband and wife in the home.[55]

CONCLUSION

From Plato to Wells, with the exception of a few of the early modern utopians, the thinkers whose ideal schemes we have been considering in this study advocate the principle of equality of the sexes. Plato and Wells grant to women membership in the aristocracies of intellect and morals that rule their respective utopias, while Bellamy and Saunders go so far as to set up two coördinate systems of government in their ideal states, one for the men and the other for the women. In utopias the women are made economically independent of the men and they participate actively in the everyday work of the world. As a means to the former end Hertzka, Tarbouriech, and Wells advocate the principle of the endowment of the family.

In regard to their work, allowance is made for the fact that the women are physically weaker than the men; otherwise they enjoy the same privileges as the men in all fields of activity. However, some utopians believe that women's ideal place is the home, and that in it they can render their best services to mankind. This difference of opinion leads to the advocacy of different types of education of women, according to the careers for which they are intended. If all barriers that obstruct the women's entrance into any field are removed, then they receive the same training as the men. If the women are to find self-realization through the home, they are made fit for their domestic duties.

[55] For an account of Utopian marriage and family laws and customs see above, pp. 36 ff.

CHAPTER X

THE REALIZATION OF UTOPIAN DREAMS

The preceding survey of education in utopias has shown the importance of education in the creation and maintenance of an ideal social order, the rôle of social institutions as agencies of education in such an order, and the detailed arrangements by means of which educational aims are therein attained. The purposes that carried us into the Utopian world have thus been realized and our excursion thereinto has now come to an end.

The schemes of social improvement that we have just surveyed have been looked upon all too often as the idle dreams of impractical visionaries blind to the hard realities of the actual world. But this is a mistaken notion; for, as pointed out at the beginning of this study, the utopians drew up their schemes as serious contributions to the literature of social thought. They were men who advocated not a few theories for the advancement of mankind that have been accepted as sober truth and applied in practice by posterity.

This chapter will point out the utopian educational ideas and ideals that have been so far realized or are in process of realization in the world we live in. It will present an inventory of utopian recommendations that have been actually carried out in our world and of theories advanced in utopias that have gained acceptance but have been so far applied only in part by mankind.

Let us first consider how applied utopianism is evident in the actual counterparts of the various social institutions that have been included in the preceding survey. The home has been affected in modern times by the increasing strictness of the laws and customs governing its formation. Physical maturity, sound physical health, and economic independence are generally demanded by law or custom as prerequisites of marriage, and there is a growing disposition to demand mental and moral health and thorough knowledge of each other from the candidates to marriage.

The present tendency to increase the rights of women in all fields of endeavor may ultimately result in a convention of equality of the sexes, as advocated by the utopians, and will undoubtedly alter, in conjunction with other social forces, the structure and functions of the home. Its effects are even now frequently evident in such matters as the size of the family, its means of support and the status of its members in the home. Never before in the history of the world did women enjoy the opportunities for education and work that modern progress, often surpassing the most ambitious wishes of the utopians, has created for them. A step further in the improvement of woman's lot is marked by the principle of the endowment of the family, which is being gradually applied in many countries.

Religion also shows examples of the prophetic insight of the utopians. Religious tolerance is now the rule in this world, and no longer are men the victims of the widespread bigotry and persecution of bygone days. Furthermore, there is a growing tendency to minimize the importance of religious differences, and the day may not be far distant when the ideal of a social religion, which the utopians have so warmly put forward, may be realized. Again, the church—the organized embodiment of religion—has lost ground in modern times as an agency of formal education. It has lost most or all of the control that it once exercised over the school and is now limited to its own peculiar functions, such as the promotion of morality and religious faith.

Further examples of utopianism come true are found in the field of formal education. Universal and compulsory systems of schools now minister equally to the needs of the classes and the masses and warrant the expectation of still better days when complete equality of educational opportunity will exist among the children of men. Modern times have witnessed an extension both upward and downward of the influence of the school. Infant education at one end and adult education at the other are both recognized as imperative social needs. No longer do educators and social thinkers conceive of education as a process that can be neglected during the early years of the individual or completed at a certain period of life. There is a conviction abroad that knowledge must be more and more disseminated and character built on firm foundations if men are to become competent to deal with the complexities of modern life.

The state has gradually extended its aid to and its control of

the school—the main agency of formal education; and central departments of education, under the direction of which the schools are operated, are found in all progressive countries. These state schools, intended as they are to meet recognized social needs, are constantly extending their sphere of influence so as to reach not only the young but also the adult members of the community. In this connection it may be pointed out that the preamble of the Education Act adopted by the British Parliament in 1918 describes the purpose of the law as the establishment of a "national system of public education available for all persons capable of profiting thereby." The state efforts directed at the extension of formal education are being supplemented by a wide variety of agencies, such as private schools, correspondence schools, university extension courses, workers' education classes, libraries, museums, art institutes, and the press.

In their ideal schemes the utopians have included plans for the organization of labor of which several features have been partially adopted already in the actual world. Among these the most important are the increasing participation of the workers in the management of industry, the improvement of the physical and psychical conditions of labor, and the shortening of the work day. Each of these features has obvious educational bearings. Participation in industrial management demands increased training on the part of the worker to meet his new responsibilities. Improved conditions in office, factory, or shop increase the worker's efficiency by providing for him congenial work, by giving him a thorough knowledge of the processes in which he is engaged, by offering him worthy incentives to effort, and by protecting his mental and physical health. Finally, short hours of labor necessitate that work be made a universal function and, on the other hand, provide the main prerequisite to education—leisure. With shorter hours prevailing in the occupational work, both intellectual and manual workers can devote more time now than in the past to reading and study, and still have time enough for play, social intercourse, and rest.

The community—whether a town or city, a political subdivision or a whole country—has also improved in modern times as an agency of education along lines advocated by the utopians. Its social environment, its government and its agencies of informal education all have a wider and more beneficial influence

in the education of mankind than they ever did, as a rule, in the past.

Let us turn now to the specific contributions that the three factors just mentioned have made in recent times to human progress. First, as regards the environment. Persistent efforts have succeeded in raising the standards of physical and moral health of the people. Better dwellings, cleaner cities and towns, means of physical comfort, recreation, and education that in past centuries were unknown are now the patrimony of all men in the most progressive countries of the world. The conditions under which people labor and the use to which they put their leisure hours stand favorable comparison with the past. These changes have been due in part to the increased application of the social theory of property and in part to the stupendous advance of modern science, both of which have combined to place at the disposal of the people enormous resources for the promotion of social welfare.

Second, as regards the institution of government. Along this line the most significant educational development of modern times has been the extension of democracy with its demand for popular political leaders capable of protecting and advancing the interests of the people and of preparing them for increased participation in public affairs. As never before in the history of the world the government now provides the citizens with incentives to effort and recognizes the indispensability of experts in the solution of complex social problems. It fosters education in its formal aspect through the expansion of the school and in its informal aspect through the improvement of the environment, through eugenic measures, and through instrumentalities for the discovery and dissemination of knowledge and for the formation of public opinion.

Third, as regards the influence of informal means of education in the betterment of human life. Mention has just been made of various lines of activity along which the government has not worked alone, but hand in hand with a wide variety of private agencies. To that coöperation is due whatever progress the eugenics movement has so far made. Incentives to effort abound not only in the sphere of government, but in manifold ways in other fields of activity. Agencies for research and for the spread of knowledge exist at present under official and private auspices which warrant the assertion that Bacon in his scheme of the

House of Solomon fell far short in anticipating future developments in the field of knowledge. Among such agencies are the scientific institutions of the state, the private foundations for social and scientific research, the statistical departments and industrial laboratories of business concerns, and the higher institutions of learning, all of which coöperate closely in their research and publication work. Both the old and the new knowledge are widely disseminated in many ways, some of which were unknown in past epochs. To the spoken word, the periodical, and the book, have been recently added the cinema and the radio as powerful auxiliaries in the fight against ignorance, in the formation of public opinion, and in the utilization of leisure.

Let us now enumerate the main utopian ideals that have so far been accepted as valid, and, at the most, partially applied in this world. They are as follows:

First, *social solidarity,* that is, a condition of society that has done away with those differences of party, sect, and class that have caused so much strife and suffering among men.

Second, *morality,* or a system of ethical standards for the guidance of conduct in all the situations of life.

Third, *equality of opportunity,* which will destroy the unfair advantages that inherited wealth or rank confers on some individuals, compensate for the inevitable differences in native capacity, and assign each man as far as possible to work that satisfies his native inclinations and ability.

Fourth, *equality of duty,* the most important corollary of which is the principle that work is a universal obligation.

Fifth, *equality of the sexes,* so as to eliminate the unfair discriminations of which women have been secular victims.

Sixth, *eugenics,* or race improvement through heredity.

Seventh, *the social theory of property,* whereby property rights are vested ultimately in the State, and which through the limited applications so far made in the form of property, income and inheritance taxes, and the right of eminent domain, has placed at the disposal of all the people resources that formerly were the privilege of the few.

Eighth, and last, *education* as the supreme agency for individual and social direction and control and for the creation of an ideal social system in which social evils will be prevented and prohibitive legislation rendered unnecessary.

The consensus of opinion among the utopians is that the full

realization of their ideal schemes is within the bounds of possibility. As shown by the preceding account of utopian dreams that have come true, a sweeping charge of impracticality leveled at the utopians cannot be sustained. They firmly believe that the social will can direct the destiny of mankind and they urge us to rely upon ourselves and not upon natural processes or supernatural powers to determine the course of progress.

Let us apply to the problem of the human future the doctrine of the will-to-do which the utopians so forcefully advocate, and their most sanguine hopes will be embodied in the commonplaces of reality. Let us set our faces toward the goal of perfection and our fate will lie, not in the lap of the gods, but in our own hands.

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